Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-184
Monday
23 September 1991

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-184 23 September 1991

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Arms Control & Disarmament

Russia's Kozyrev on International Arms Trade *[TASS]* 1
Lobov Interviewed on Tactical Nuclear Arms Talks *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 17 Sep]* 1
Commentary Views U.S. Tactical Nuclear Weapons *[Moscow International]* 2

Worldwide Issues

Pankin Continues To Hold Meetings, Talks at UN 2
Cited on Soviet Agenda *[IZVESTIYA 21 Sep]* 2
Urges Support for Chernobyl Fund *[TASS]* 4
Discusses SFRY With Perez de Cuellar *[TASS]* 4
Views UNSC Talks on Yugoslavia *[TASS]* 4
Satisfied With Cambodia Talks *[TASS]* 5
Meets Ecuadoran Counterpart *[TASS]* 5
Rogachev Comments on Cambodian Settlement *[TASS]* 5

United States and Canada

Finance Secretary Brady Continues Talks in Moscow 5
Favors Unified Banking System *[INTERFAX]* 5
Meets Gorbachev; Views Economy *[IZVESTIYA 21 Sep]* 6
FED Chairman Arrives To Discuss World Banking *[INTERFAX]* 7
Bush Cited on Assistance, Nuclear Standoff *[IZVESTIYA 18 Aug]* 7

Northeast Asia

Medvedev Meets With South Korean Prime Minister *[TASS]* 7
Scientific, Industrial Cooperation *[TASS]* 8
Supplies To Start Oct *[TASS]* 8
Shevardnadze, ROK Opposition Kim Meet in Moscow 8
Sign Cooperation Communique *[TASS]* 8
Four-Point Agreement Detailed *[Seoul YONHAP]* 8
ROK's No Tae-u To Address United Nations *[Moscow International]* 8
Proposal on Economic Union in Far East Viewed *[Moscow International]* 9
DPRK Diplomat Calls Report 'Dirty Slander' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 Sep]* 9
Yakovlev Opens Center for Study of Japan in Moscow *[Moscow Radio]* 10

Near East & South Asia

Primakov Reaches Gas-Arms Deal With Iran *[London AL-HAYAH 19 Sep]* 10
Rejects 'New Intervention' in Iraq *[Moscow International]* 10
Comments on Peace Conference *[TASS]* 10
Describes Results of Talks *[TASS]* 11
Belonogov Talks with Tunisian, PLO Leaders *[TASS]* 11
Holds Talks in Cairo *[TASS]* 12
Personal Envoy of King Fahd Visits Moscow 12
Soviet-Saudi Links Discussed *[TASS]* 12
Soviet POW's Discussed *[TASS]* 12

Arms Embargo Unlikely To Halt Afghan Jihad *[PRAVDA 17 Sep]* 13
Weapons Sales to Middle East Will Continue *[Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIAHAD AL-USBU'I 19 Sep]* 13
U.S.-Syria Talks; Conference Prospects 'Unclear' *[IZVESTIYA 20 Sep]* 14
Gorbachev, Yasir 'Arafat Exchange Messages *[IZVESTIYA 21 Sep]* 14

Sub-Saharan Africa

Envoy Urges Diplomatic Relations With S. Africa *[INTERFAX]* 14

East Europe

TASS Observer on Yugoslavia, EC Mediation 15
Steps To Resolve Situation Viewed *[TASS]* 15
Arms to Yugoslavia 'Practically' Halted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Sep]* 16
'Secret' Arms Supplies to People's Army Revealed *[IZVESTIYA 21 Sep]* 16

West Europe

Italian Prime Minister Arrives for Visit 22 Sep 16
Greeted by Silayev *[TASS]* 16
Meets With Gorbachev *[Moscow International]* 17
Primakov Meets With Turkish Leaders 20 Sep *[TASS]* 17
Luzhkov on 'Rather Difficult' EEC Food Talks *[TASS]* 17

Latin America & Caribbean

Nikolayenko Faces 'Delicate' Cuban Mission *[TASS]* 17
Brigade Consultations End *[TASS]* 18
Cuba States 'Displeasure' Over Pullout Decision *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 17 Sep]* 18

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

IZVESTIYA Runs Gorbachev, Editors Meeting *[21 Sep]* 19
Gorbachev Decrees Remove Officials From Posts 24
MVD, KGB Officials Replaced *[TASS]* 24
Deputy Defense Minister Fired *[TASS]* 24
Bakatin Says KGB Cadres Must Be 'Shaken Up' *[Moscow Russian TV]* 24
Communists To Form New Marxism-Based Party *[TASS]* 29
TASS Reviews 21 Sep Central Press 30
TASS Reviews 23 Sep Central Press 31

Economic

Silayev Optimistic About Economic Prospects *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 17 Sep]* 32
Economic Committee Discusses Winter Fuel Issues *[Moscow Radio]* 34
Gorbachev Issues Decree on Economic Committee *[TASS]* 34
'Main Provisions' of Yavlinsky Draft Summarized *[IZVESTIYA 18 Sep]* 34
Republics Sign Economic Cooperation Agreements *[TASS]* 35
Bankers Discuss Economic Situation *[Moscow TV]* 35
Food, Fuel, Medicine Shortages Examined *[Radio Rossii]* 37
Danube Canal Repair May Bankrupt Shipping Line *[Moscow TV]* 38

Agricultural

Strict Measures Aimed at Priority Harvesting Work *[PRAVDA 17 Sep]* 38
Imported Plant Causes 'Revolution' in Thinking *[Moscow TV]* 39

Scientific

Soyuz Launches Kosmos-2156 Satellite *[TASS]* 39
Space Agency To Undergo 'Radical Transformations' *[TASS]* 40
Mir Cosmonauts Conduct Geophysical Experiments *[TASS]* 40

Report Examines Safety of Upcoming Mir Mission *[IZVESTIYA 18 Sep]* 40
New Head of Cosmonaut Training Center Announced *[TASS]* 41
Physics Institute Testing 12-Channel Laser *[PRAVDA 16 Sep]* 41
Oceanic Thermal Power Plants Planned for Siberia *[TASS]* 41
Arctic Herders Must Return 'Space Scrap Metal' *[TASS]* 42

Military

TASS Cites Shaposhnikov News Conference 42
Shaposhnikov on Nuclear Arms Reduction *[INTERFAX]* 43
General Staff Chief Lobov Interviewed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 3 Sep]* 43
Moscow Military District Chief Interviewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Sep]* 47
Deputy Defense Minister on Leadership Changes *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Sep]* 48
General Explains Plan for Armed Forces Reform *[Moscow International]* 48

BALTIC COUNTRIES

Baltic Affairs

Latvia-Estonian Border 'Almost Completed' *[BALTFAX]* 49
Gorbachev Signs Decree Discharging Servicemen *[Radio Rossii]* 49
Soviet Military Activities Reported *[BALTFAX]* 49

Estonia

Russians Concerned Over Citizenship Law *[BALTFAX]* 49
Savisaar Visit to Kazakhstan Reported *[BALTFAX]* 49
Cooperation Agreement Signed With Azerbaijan *[Tallinn Radio]* 50

Latvia

Shaposhnikov Comments on Army Withdrawal *[Riga International]* 50
Gorbunovs Seen as Leading Presidential Candidate *[BALTFAX]* 50
Reorganization of Banking Institutions Begins *[IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]* 50

Lithuania

Landsbergis May Meet Polish Leaders *[BALTFAX]* 51
'Ready To Meet' Walesa *[Warsaw PAP]* 51
No 'Special Impasse' Seen *[Warsaw TV]* 51
Parliament Area Mined; KGB Papers Removed *[BALTFAX]* 52

RSFSR

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Still Suffering From 'Heart Problems' *[AFP]* 53
Yeltsin, Nazarbayev To Arrive in Baku 20 Sep *[Radio Rossii]* 53
Urges Talks With Leaders *[Russian TV]* 53
Departs on Mediation Mission *[AFP]* 53
Fourth Supreme Soviet Session Continues 23 Sep 54
Adopts Decree on Prisoners *[TASS]* 54
Discusses POW's in Afghanistan *[Moscow Russian TV]* 54
To Review Laws, Candidates, Names *[Moscow Radio]* 56
Members To Meet in Committees *[Moscow Radio]* 56
Stepankov Cites Progress of Coup Investigation *[TASS]* 56
Silayev Appointed Head of Economic Committee *[TASS]* 57
To Remain Prime Minister *[TASS]* 57
Possible Silayev Successor Interviewed *[Moscow Radio]* 57
Rutskoy Urges Faster Conversion of Arms Factories
[Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT 20-21 Sep] 57
Russian National Guard Enlistment Begins 19 Sep *[TASS]* 58

Local Affairs

Group Begins Campaign To Rename St Petersburg *[INTERFAX]* 58
Legislators Insist on Komissarov for Police Post *[TASS]* 58
N. Ossetian Parliament Appeals to Yeltsin *[TASS]* 59
Black Market Sugar Sparks Protest in Urals City *[AFP]* 59

External Affairs

Silayev Says Government Favors Israeli Relations *[INTERFAX]* 60
Rutskoy Continues Official Visit in Italy 60
Issues Joint Communique *[TASS]* 60
Answers Jounalists' Questions *[TASS]* 60
Repuboic Puts Japan Ties on 'Constructive' Base *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 17 Sep]* 61

WESTERN REPUBLICS

Belorussia

Citizenship Law Passed; All Residents Recognized *[TASS]* 63
Agencies To Submit Independence Proposals *[IZVESTIYA 16 Sep]* 63
Shushkevich 'Not Convinced' of Need To Secede *[TASS]* 63
Supreme Soviet Deputies Decide on Representatives *[Minsk Radio]* 64
South Korean Firms To Invest in Modernization *[INTERFAX]* 64

Ukraine

Statement Appeals for Support for Independence *[Kiev Radio]* 64
Structure of Armed Forces Remains Undecided 64
Details Being Debated *[INTERFAX]* 64
Defense Minister Interviewed *[IAN PRESS RELEASE]* 64
Conversion Seen as Lengthy Process *[TASS]* 65
Deputies Discuss Formation of Security Service *[Moscow Radio]* 65
Establishment of Hard Currency Fund Viewed 66
Foreign Loans Transfer *[INTERFAX]* 66
Fokin Appeals for Currency Reserves *[IZVESTIYA 16 Sep]* 66
Democratic Party 'Condemns' Some Deputies' Stand *[Kiev Radio]* 66
Rukh Members 'Exasperated' by Communist Party *[Kiev Radio]* 66
Republic Imposes Immediate Ban on Oil Exports *[Berlin ADN]* 67
Kravchuk To Focus on Economics in Canadian Visit *[TASS]* 67

Moldova

Snegur on 'Campaign' To Unite With Romania *[Bucharest Radio]* 67
Blockade of Dnestr Railway Continues 67
Cars Backed Up *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 67
Conditional Amnesty Granted *[Radio Rossii]* 67

CAUCASUS

Georgia

Supreme Soviet Discusses 'Ossetian Extremists' *[INTERFAX]* 68
Gamsakhurdia Suspends Session *[TASS]* 68
Reportage on Political Protests, Responses 68
TASS: Situation Deteriorates 68
Protestors Clubbed; Gamsakhurdia Appeal *[AFP]* 68
Conflicting Reports on Attacks *[INTERFAX]* 69
5,000 More Soldiers Join Opposition *[AFP]* 69
Pro-Gamsakhurida Supporters Mass *[TASS]* 70
Situation Detailed; Opposition Protests *[Moscow Radio]* 70
TASS Reports From Tbilisi TV Center 70
Pro-Government Rallies Demand Arrests *[Moscow Russian TV]* 71

Sigua on Gamsakhurdia's 'Civil War' Call *[INTERFAX]* 71
Sigua Given Negotiation Powers *[TASS]* 71
Gamsakhurdia Agrees To Meet Opposition *[TASS]* 72
Opposition To Negotiate *[Moscow TV]* 72
Paatashvili, Gamsakhurdia Meet *[Radio Rossii]* 72
Gamsakhurdia on Poisonous Gas Use *[Moscow Radio]* 72
Opposition Leader Chanturiya Situation Updated 73
Chanturiya Fears Being 'Eliminated' *[TASS]* 73
10 More Days of Detention *[AFP]* 73
Fears Physical Elimination *[Moscow TV]* 73

Armenia

Reportage on Independence Referendum, Results 73
'Overwhelming Majority' Back Independence *[INTERFAX]* 73
Ter-Petrosyan Votes for Independence *[INTERFAX]* 74
Ter-Oetrosyan Interviewed at Poll *[Moscow Russian TV]* 74
Independence Referendum Results *[TASS]* 74
More Results Reported *[Yerevan Radio]* 74
Ter-Petrosyan: Settlement as First Step *[TASS]* 75
Rejects Center as 'Neutral Mediator' *[INTERFAX]* 75
Ter-Petrosyan on Referendum, Yeltsin Mission *[Moscow TV]* 75
Further on Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Arrival *[Yerevan Radio]* 75
New Democratic Party of Armenia Formed *[Moscow Radio]* 76

Azerbaijan

Legislators Warn Gorbachev on Nagorno-Karabakh *[Hamburg DPA]* 76
Groups Call For Armed Mobilization in Karabakh *[INTERFAX]* 76
Mutalibov Comments on Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Arrival *[TASS]* 76
Comments on Baku Talks *[Moscow TV]* 77
Demonstrators Protest Outside 'Private' Meeting *[TASS]* 77
Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Talks in Baku Detailed *[Moscow Radio]* 77
Yeltsin Reportedly 'in Good Health' *[TASS]* 78
Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Depart for Yerevan *[INTERFAX]* 78
Further on Departure *[Moscow TV]* 78
'Fierce Fighting' Continues in Geranboyskiy Rayon *[Radio Rossii]* 79

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Reportage on Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Peace Talks 79
Security Forces To Protect Yeltsin *[TASS]* 79
TASS Commentator on Mission 79
Hopes High for Peace Mission *[Moscow Radio]* 80
Yeltsin, Nazarbayev View Goals *[Moscow Radio]* 81
'Protracted' Talks Expected *[Radio Rossii]* 81
Burbulis on Security Issues *[INTERFAX]* 81
TASS Reports on Talks 82
Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Address Rally *[TASS]* 82
Hope Emerges From Discussions *[Radio Rossii]* 82
Yeltsin Comments on Talks *[Moscow TV]* 83
PRAVDA Views Yeltsin Mission *[23 Sep]* 83
Center 'Doing Nothing' *[Moscow TV]* 84
Yeltsin Views Problem, Inaction *[TASS]* 84
Yeltsin Urges Censorship of Situation *[Radio Rossii]* 85

Arms Control & Disarmament

Russia's Kozyrev on International Arms Trade

LD1909173691 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 19 Sep 91

[by TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—"International arms trade cannot be stopped both technically and economically, and this is not required at the current stage," the Russian Federation's Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev told TASS today.

What is important, he said, is that arms trade should acquire a "civilised character" so that weapons deliveries are not carried out for "ideological reasons."

Secondly, it is necessary "to eliminate elements of uncontrolled competition both among arms suppliers and among clients, which makes the entire process destabilising in character," he remarked.

Finally, it is necessary to think of restricting technological levels for arms supplied to one or another region, the minister pointed out.

Kozyrev believes that the United Nations can play "a good role" by compiling a register of international arms deliveries.

Lobov Interviewed on Tactical Nuclear Arms Talks

91WC0168A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 17 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Headquarters, by Vladimir Ostrovskiy; place and date not given: "Is the Problem of Tactical Nuclear Weapons Solvable?"]

[Text] **FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher believes that it is necessary to solve the problem of tactical nuclear weapons by reaching a "zero" option between the Soviet Union and the United States in Europe. During his meeting with the chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Headquarters, Army General Vladimir Lobov, U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker expressed the United States viewpoint on this problem: "It is time to start negotiations to reduce these weapons."**

SO WHAT IS THE POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION?

Army General Vladimir Lobov answers this question posed by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA.

[Lobov] Readers of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA should not be surprised to learn that I will not start with tactical nuclear weapons. The special feature of this problem, like the problem of weapons of mass destruction in general, is that it is linked closely to the Soviet-American START treaty signed this summer in Moscow. After the elimination of intermediate and shorter range missiles (the INF treaty), the START treaty has become the second most important step toward a nonnuclear world.

[Ostrovskiy] I call this to mind this because, in my opinion, the START treaty, like the agreement to reduce conventional weapons signed in Paris last fall, must definitely be ratified, because ratification will open for us the door to a new stage in the Soviet-American talks on nuclear systems.

[Lobov] It should be noted that together with the strategic offensive arms held by the two sides, both have stockpiled mountains of tactical nuclear weapons or, as experts in the West say, "battlefield" weapons. There is no doubt that after ratification of the documents I mentioned previously it is necessary to engage in dialogue on tactical nuclear weapons. There are more than enough reasons for this. First, both sides have too many "battlefield" weapons. Second, the fact that they are deployed across the extensive territory of the European Continent presents a certain danger, particularly given the extremely changeable and tense political situation that has taken shape in the Balkans, on part of Soviet territory, and even in Germany, if we take into account the social tension in the eastern part of that country. The way in which these events may unfold offers no guarantee against unexpected situations at many points on the continent. Third and last, if used extensively (which from both sides, hypothetically of course, could amount to thousands of weapons) "battlefield" weapons could cross the boundary of tactical weapons and in terms of the consequences become strategic.

Nor should we forget that no one can today predict at what phase in the use of these weapons the sides would stop in the event of conflict. Here we have an endless range of scenarios that depend on the unexpected circumstances of engagement across a huge territory made up of dozens of states and many millions of people. All of this is too serious not to pay attention to the urgent need to review the problem of tactical nuclear weapons.

I see a unique paradox: We reject offensive strategic systems but at the same time keep mountains of tactical nuclear weapons capable of plunging the world into the abyss of self-destruction. This is not even logical on the human plane. Moreover, the storage, deployment, and safekeeping of these weapons involve considerable costs.

We touched on this problem during talks with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker in Moscow. I stated that the Soviet side favors negotiations on these forms of weapons of mass destruction. These negotiations cannot be postponed. The more we delay with this problem the more palpably it will be felt and the more it will involve new regions on the continent. In short, there are more than enough reasons to initiate a dialogue.

It should be noted, however, that these negotiations cannot be limited only to two participants—the USSR and the United States. When we sit down at the negotiating table and resolve in principle that these kinds of weapons must be reduced, it will be possible to move to

consider not only the numeric data on these weapons but also their tactical-technical characteristics. And then we will inevitably move on to the fact that there are more than two nuclear powers in Europe, whose nuclear weapons also exert an influence on the strategic situation that takes shape here. It would be a mistake not to take those weapons into account. This means that the question of reviewing the participation of those powers in the negotiations must be considered at a certain stage.

Tactical nuclear weapons are European weapons. From whatever source, they are targeted against our common continent. We are sincerely interested in reducing and ultimately eliminating them, from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Commentary Views U.S. Tactical Nuclear Weapons

LD1909213991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] During the recent talks in Moscow between the American secretary of state, James Baker, and the Soviet leadership an agreement was reached on holding negotiations over tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. Vladislav Kozyakov has this comment:

The new situation in Europe and all over the world caused by the latest changes in the Soviet Union brings the question of the demilitarization of international relations more and more to the foreground. This applies to the deployment of short-range nuclear missiles in Europe; that is, missiles with a range of up to 500 km. The Soviet Union, now in a process of transforming into a union of sovereign states, believes it is pointless to keep in Europe thousands of short-range nuclear warfare means. In an interview given for the press on 17th September, the chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, General Lobov, said the Soviet Union was sincerely interested in reducing and eventually scrapping tactical nuclear weapons within the area stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains.

Reports coming from Washington and West European capitals indicate that there too there are doubts as to whether it is necessary to keep in Europe 88 American Lance launchers with about 700 nuclear warheads and also about 1,500 nuclear artillery shells. The American defense secretary, Dick Cheney, said in an interview on Cable News Network that tactical nuclear weapons no longer had much validity in the new European environment. True, when the Pentagon talks about tactical weapons it limits the notion only to land-based missiles and ignores the nuclear air-based force, though in the opinion of experts the United States should place more emphasis on air-launched nuclear weapons. The United States is developing at present a tactical air-to-surface missile. All this is expected to become the theme of the coming talks on reducing and scrapping tactical nuclear missiles in Europe. The dialogue on this issue may run into one obstacle—the position of some Western politicians, who insist on the need to slow the disarmament process. Their argument in favor of this is as follows: The Soviet Union's position is not stable right now, let's wait until a new union of sovereign states is formed and powers are divided between the center and the republics. Incidentally, similar arguments are used in Washington today to justify the delay with the ratification of the START agreement and the agreement on conventional armaments in Europe.

Yet despite the complexity of the current period of transition to a new union of sovereign states, the Soviet side proposes not to slow down but to speed up the solution of disarmament problems. There is every opportunity now for ratifying and bringing into effect the already signed agreements. Following that, negotiations over tactical weapons in Europe may be launched. The heaps of weapons accumulated over the cold war years should be shovelled away at a quick pace. This is important both for international security and for the promotion of Soviet reform, much talked about in the West these days.

Worldwide Issues

Pankin Continues To Hold Meetings, Talks at UN

Cited on Soviet Agenda

PM2009160391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister B. Pankin "as he arrives for UN General Assembly session" by correspondent A. Shalnev: "Boris Pankin: We Want To Speak the Language of a New Union"]

[Text] "Our most important initiative is the absence of any initiatives." I was told that this phrase was to have been included in the brief statement USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin made on arriving in New York Thursday to participate in the UN General Assembly session.

The phrase was not in the final text, but the fact that a decision was made to dispense with it in the end does not change anything. The Union delegation arrived at the session without, as its senior representative put it, "any fancy ideas."

This need not by any means be considered bad. Almost throughout the history of Soviet diplomacy we have bombarded the world with initiatives. Often we have done it just to be able to say afterward: "Look how full of initiative our foreign policy is." There has been a mass of empty, meaningless proposals that has cost a vast amount of mental effort and, more importantly, money to promote both at UN General Assembly sessions and other international forums and in bilateral relations: In fact, as a rule a separate team of experts was selected for

each initiative, and they were very much committed to ensuring that the "promotion" dragged on and on ad infinitum.

So, for the first time, we are going to the United Nations "empty-handed." When I asked Boris Pankin what mission and super mission his delegation had been given, he replied: "We want to start speaking the language of the new Union born after the defeat of the putsch. We want to send a signal to the world that the Union is marching boldly and firmly along the path of democracy, along the path of transformation into a rule-of-law state, along the path of completing the deideologization of foreign policy."

One deduces from this that our delegation's main work will be done not at the session itself, but behind the scenes, at the dozens of meetings the Union minister plans to hold with his foreign colleagues and with the heads of state and government who have come to the UN General Assembly.

Certainly, Boris Pankin's meetings with U.S. President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker belong to the "highest importance" category. According to our minister, he "has a mandate from the USSR president to urge Americans to define their role, as far as assisting us to emerge from the crisis." It is time, the minister said, "for Americans to act rather than just talk."

A high-ranking Foreign Ministry staffer with whom I talked was more straightforward in this regard: "We are not satisfied with the specific steps that the Americans are taking (in the sphere of giving us assistance—A. Shalnev). Their policy dates from before the coup and does not reflect the new state of affairs in the Soviet Union. They are still not talking of granting us full, not associate, membership of the IMF and the World Bank. You end up with a strange phenomenom: Romania enjoys such membership. It is being offered to the Baltics, but why not to us?"

It can be assumed, however, that we do not have very many levers for influencing the Americans. We have to rely mainly on the force of persuasion—chiefly by means of the frightening prospects now opening up in the economic and, thus, the political life of our country.

But here you end up with a two-edged weapon: By frightening the Americans with instability, we create doubts about how intensive their relations with us should be now; for example: Questions of further arms control have virtually been left hanging. Washington makes it quite clear to us that it cannot go down this path inasmuch as it is not totally sure about who in our country will ratify and fulfill—and when—the provisions of the two agreements already concluded and signed on conventional types of arms and on strategic arms.

The Americans are waiting for our new Supreme Soviet to meet and approve these agreements. Most importantly, the Americans want to be convinced that the agreements will be fulfilled. After this it will be possible to talk about further disarmament steps.

In addition to the topic of economic relations between us, questions associated with the convening of a Near East conference will command serious attention in Boris Pankin's talks with the U.S. President and the U.S. secretary of state. Washington and Moscow have a clear coincidence of positions on the need to hold this conference and the desirability of exerting pressure on Israel to stop trying to wreck the conference. One of the U.S. pressure methods is clear: the blocking of the $10 billion loan to Tel Aviv earmarked for housing construction programs for immigrants from the USSR.

Our lever, informed sources say, is the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel. We are certainly not averse to delaying this and thereby pushing the Israelis toward the necessary decisions. Will this work? Let us see.

Incidentally, Boris Pankin said in reply to my question that Moscow is "closer to the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel than to the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Africa."

During the conversation with the Union minister, the talk turned to how his relations with his colleagues—the ministers of the Union republics—are taking shape and how those relations will be demonstrated at the General Assembly session. IZVESTIYA has already written that the Soviet delegation includes foreign ministers from a number of republics.

Illustrating the character of these relations, Boris Pankin cited the fact that his colleagues (meaning mainly the ministers of the Central Asian republics) expressed their approval when a joint statement on Afghanistan was issued after his recent talks with Baker in Moscow. As far as I could judge from Pankin's comments, however, his colleagues also made it clear to him that the next time they expect not just information on what happened from the Union minister but real consultations, too.

I asked: Did such consultations take place in connection with the talks on the Near East problems? "Our colleagues have no objections to our position. I kept them informed," he answered.

Will the Central Asian republics' ministers be present, I asked next, at your meetings on Near East problems? The answer was roughly as follows: If they want to, they are welcome. Except, of course, for those occasions when, for example, the Americans or Israelis or someone else with whom the Union minister is meeting want a meeting with a restricted number of participants, face to face.

In general, Boris Pankin's philosophy regarding the diplomacy of various of our republics is very simple: "I have no hang-ups on that score—neither jealousy nor reservations."

On a somewhat different theme, IZVESTIYA has already written about the main conference due to open in New York Friday—the conference designed to raise enough voluntary contributions to clear up the aftermath of the Chernobyl catastrophe. According to available information, the message that will be read out at the conference on behalf of Russian President Boris Yeltsin will announce the Russian leadership's decision to contribute 2 million rubles to the corresponding UN fund. According to my information, the Ukraine and Belorussia will make similar contributions.

I would recall that according to UN experts' estimates it will be necessary to implement on USSR territory 131 projects worth in total almost $700 million to alleviate the aftermath of the catastrophe.

Urges Support for Chernobyl Fund

LD2109135291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1043 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov]

[Text] United Nations, 21 Sep (TASS)—The accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station revealed, just for a moment, the ominous aspect of an ecological Armageddon causing the world to shudder, USSR Foreign Minister B.D. Pankin declared on Friday. He spoke at UN Headquarters at the opening of the conference setting up voluntary contributions for the purpose of international cooperation in eliminating the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station.

From May 1986 to the present, over 25 billion rubles have been channelled into the USSR for resolving the Chernobyl problem, Pankin pointed out. It must be recognized, however, that it has not yet proved possible to alter the situation radically in the stricken areas. It has become obvious we will not overcome this disaster on our own and that effective resistance to the pernicious consequences of the Chernobyl tragedy is possible only through the pooling of intellectual and material resources and the scientific-technical potential of many states, international organizations, and scientific research centers.

The conference, the minister noted, is intended to strengthen the base of the integrated program drawn up under UN auspices for specific Chernobyl projects. All this work by the United Nations does not in the least run counter to the interests of other states, yet such apprehensions are sometimes voiced. It is a question of a cross border catastrophe, the lessons of which are essentially universal and largely unique. Cooperation in overcoming the aftermath of the accident will be of benefit to all, allowing members of the international community—while tackling the problems of Chernobyl—to gain invaluable experience needed to create reliable guarantees that such a disaster will never be repeated in other countries.

Urging governments and international organizations, public movements, and private funds to support the UN fund for international programs on Chernobyl, the Soviet minister declared that 11 million rubles, including 5 million foreign currency rubles—the contribution from the Union—and 2 million Soviet rubles each from Belorussia, Russia, and the Ukraine, have been allocated to these purposes as a joint voluntary contribution.

Discusses SFRY With Perez de Cuellar

LD2109230191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2157 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations, 21 Sep (TASS)—A meeting took place here today between USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. After the meeting, the Soviet minister told journalists: First, I delivered a message to the secretary general from USSR president Mikhail Gorbachev. They know each other well. The secretary general inquired about the situation in the Soviet Union. I made a point of assuring him that our country remains an active and influential participant in all international processes and that we intend to participate actively in resolving all the problems facing humanity. I assured him that all our obligations remain in force. We then touched upon a few issues which are of interest for the whole world at the moment and are being actively discussed in this building. First and foremost, it is the Yugoslav issue. The secretary general expressed serious anxiety about what is happening in that country. Bloodshed is continuing, tension rising, and confrontation increasing. One can feel that the measures being taken by the European Community, in spite of their sincere efforts, have failed to lead to the results required. The question arises: Is there a role for the United Nations Organization in this issue. We discussed this. The opinion of the secretary general, as well as my own, in a word, is that in the present situation, the United Nations as a whole and the Security Council in particular cannot remain aloof from what is taking place in Yugoslavia.

Views UNSC Talks on Yugoslavia

LD2209044491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0108 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Excerpts] United Nations, 21 Sep (TASS)—The further deterioration of the situation in Yugoslavia was discussed at UN Security Council [UNSC] consultations here on Friday evening. [passage omitted]

It is natural that the dramatic development of events in Yugoslavia cannot leave the world community indifferent, USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin told your TASS correspondent. Many countries are expressing ever-increasing anxiety on this issue. The chairman of the Security Council is proposing that we hold consultations and think about some form of UN influence on the

course of events. So far, there is no uniformity of opinion. Some refer to the UN Charter and to the fact that there have been no appeals from Yugoslavia. Of course, this is also something that cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, the understanding is growing that the United Nations must voice its opinion. [passage omitted]

Satisfied With Cambodia Talks

LD2209002491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2305 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations, 21 Sep (TASS)—Boris Pankin, USSR minister of foreign affairs, today expressed satisfaction with the prospects for a settlement of the Cambodian problem. It so happened that the timing of the beginning of the 46th session of the General Assembly coincided with very intensive talks between all sides here in New York on the Cambodian issue, he stated in a conversation with Soviet journalists. In principle, the entire large package of documents relating to this has been agreed upon.

All of the Khmer sides discussed the settlement of the Cambodian problem during talks in line with the framework of a higher national council of Cambodia, the minister added. Talks were conducted under the guidance of the five permanent members of the Security Council, with the participation of Indonesia as the co-chairman of the Paris conference on Cambodia, as well as with the participation of representatives of the UN secretary general's mission, in particular R. Ahmed, the UN under secretary general. Generally speaking, all the countries that took part in the Paris conference held discussions. The concluding stage of the Paris conference will open on 31 October, when the whole package of documents will be signed.

Agreement has already been reached on such issues as the military aspects of the settlement, the cessation of military activities, the correlation between the powers of the higher national council headed by Norodom Sihanouk, the temporary UN authority in Cambodia, and the system for holding nationwide democratic elections. In short, the door is open to peace, calm, and stability, and to the free expression of will in this country, which has suffered for decades from genocide and wars. This also opens up the way to peace and calm in the entire region of southeast Asia, the minister stressed in conclusion.

Meets Ecuadoran Counterpart

LD2209120991 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] United Nations September 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin met his Ecuadorian counterpart, Diego Cordovez, on Saturday.

On behalf of the Ecuadorean and Latin American public, Cordovez enthusiastically welcomed the failure of the putsch and the triumph of democratic forces in the Soviet Union.

The two foreign ministers expressed mutual confidence that revolutionary transformations in the Soviet Union become an important constructive factor in world politics providing, in particular, an essential basis for more active Soviet-Ecuadorean relations in trade, the economy, and other fields.

Pankin and Cordovez exchanged evaluations and ideas on such topical world problems as a settlement of the Afghan problem and the crisis in Yugoslavia.

Rogachev Comments on Cambodian Settlement

LD2209043591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0001 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Excerpt] United Nations, 21 Sep (TASS)—[passage omitted] "The final touches are now being applied to an agreement for a comprehensive political settlement. The final phase of the Paris conference on Cambodia at the foreign ministerial level will take place at the end of October. A document on military measures was discussed on Friday. The whole text was examined," Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev stated in an interview with a TASS correspondent.

He noted that the question of the election system in Cambodia had been settled by the Cambodian sides themselves on the previous day. Still to be solved is the question of the dispatch of some 200 UN observers to Cambodia, possibly as early as October, before the signing of the agreement in Paris. They will have to prepare a report assessing the situation within the country and making specific proposals on the details of mounting a comprehensive UN operation in Cambodia. "A special decision of the UN Security Council will be adopted on this. Prince Sihanouk has asked for 200 persons to be sent," I. Rogachev announced.

"The five permanent members of the Security Council concluded that all the questions could not be resolved before the Paris conference anyway. The main problems have been settled. A number of secondary ones will be tackled even after the conference," he said. [passage omitted]

United States and Canada

Finance Secretary Brady Continues Talks in Moscow

Favors Unified Banking System

OW2109021291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 20 Sep 91

[From the "Business Weekly" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] U.S. Finance Secretary Nicholas Brady gave to understand during his September 19 meeting with Chairman of the Board of the USSR State Bank Victor Gerashchenko that the United States favoured the continued existence of a unified banking system in the Soviet Union. IF [INTERFAX] learned at the USSR State Bank that Mr. Brady has spoken in favour of further centralized control over Soviet finances "at least during a transitional period."

The U.S. finance secretary discussed with Mr. Gerashchenko the state of the Soviet balance of payments and the USSR's need for liquid foreign currency reserves the West is expected to extend to this country before 1991 is out. Mr. Gerashchenko expressed bewilderment at the position of the U.S. commercial banks that had gone back on their credit line agreements with the USSR Vnesheconombank during and after the August coup attempt in the USSR. According to Mr. Gerashchenko, these actions were "a disgrace" for the entire Western banking system.

During a discussion of the USSR's prospects for joining the IMF and the World Bank, Mr. Brady emphasized that the USSR had to comply with the statutes of both organisations and to present complete data concerning its balance of payments and foreign-exchange and gold reserves.

A senior USSR State Bank official said in a interview with INTERFAX that the visit and an hour-long talk between Mr. Brady and Mr. Gerashchenko clearly indicate that the U.S. Finance Ministry [as received] views the State Bank as its main partner in the USSR. The official added that the U.S. financial institutions planned "to be increasingly active in cooperation with the 'former Soviet' republics."

Meets Gorbachev; Views Economy

PM2309084791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[By P. Golub: "'Capitalist Training Courses' on Old Square?"]

[Text] So Nicholas Brady, head of the U.S. financial department, has followed the British and French finance ministers and paid an official visit to Moscow.

The U.S. secretary, accompanied by Alan Greenspan (chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board) and David Mulford (Treasury under secretary for international affairs), met with Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR; Ivan Silayev, chairman of the USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy; and representatives of Soviet business circles. Boris Yeltsin did not attend because of ill health.

The aim of the trip, in the U.S. representatives' words, was to study the state of the Soviet economy and our country's needs in terms of aid and assistance from its foreign partners in accordance with the decision of the "Group of Seven" industrially developed states.

As the USSR president's press service reported, the point of departure in the discussion with the U.S. secretary was the understanding by the two countries' leaderships of the new Union's role in future world relations and the U.S. role in molding the new type of international cooperation, from which first and foremost we expect assistance in overcoming critical difficulties—if we are to embark on general development and realize the country's colossal potential. Concrete economic problems were examined: the rules ensuring effective cooperation and assistance and the terms and the specific agencies and individuals who are to be directly employed in this area. At the same time the secretary drew attention to the desirability of the earliest possible conclusion of an agreement with the IMF on special associate membership and the need to have from our side a single mission, coordinated with the republics, invested with powers and the ability to operate.

At a meeting with journalists, Brady characterized the meeting with the USSR President as "very successful" and confirmed the U.S. readiness to view attentively all requests for help from the Soviet Union, both past and future. He recalled President Bush's earlier decision to grant our country a credit of more than 1.5 billion [currency not specified] to buy food and stated with satisfaction that many senior officials in Moscow had assured him that help arriving from abroad will be guaranteed to reach those who need it. "They assured us that the aid will be distributed by prestigious organizations enjoying international confidence, such as the Red Cross," N. Brady noted.

One idea voiced by Brady during the meeting with Gorbachev and greeted by the Soviet leader with great enthusiasm, in the secretary's words, was a proposal to create a special vocational training center for "capitalists" in Moscow. In Brady's opinion, this could be a comprehensive business school course covering the widest range of subjects, from bookkeeping to marketing. Graduates of these courses would have mastered the skills of professional businessmen and would be trained to transfer the USSR's centralized, planned economy to a free-market basis. Furthermore, in Brady's words, the president even proposed that the CPSU Central Committee building, which is being vacated, be used for this purpose.

Brady stressed that Washington intends to grant Moscow food and humanitarian aid to help the Soviet Union overcome the difficulties of the approaching winter, although he also noted that our country's requests for aid of $14.7 billion are "excessively high." By all accounts, specific sums and volumes of aid have not been discussed yet.

Observers are attaching special attention to the U.S. delegation members' statement that in the very near future the Soviet Union will receive "social associate

membership" status in the IMF, which will enable our country to enjoy that organization's expert help in reforming the economy. It should be noted here that the influential Japanese newspaper NIHON KEIZAI reported on the same day that "special associate membership" of the IMF and the World Bank will be granted to our country even before the end of September, which will enable us to take advantage of loans and credits from those international financial organizations, too.

FED Chairman Arrives To Discuss World Banking

OW2309002891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2118 GMT 22 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report dated September 23, 1991"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, Mr. Corrigan, arrived in Moscow on Sunday where he will stay as a guest of the Russian president.

During his talks with high-ranking officials of the economics and finance ministries of Russia and the republic's central bank he is to discuss issues relating to the "integration of Russia into the world banking system".

Mr. Corrigan is to meet the board chairmen of Gosbank and Vnesheconombank of the USSR, too.

Bush Cited on Assistance, Nuclear Standoff

PM2309121191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[By IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Blinov: "Western Aid and Soviet Missiles"]

[Text] Washington—U.S. President G. Bush and FRG Chancellor H. Kohl held a meeting in the White House that focused on events in the Soviet Union and East Europe and the Western countries' attitudes to them.

Appearing before journalists after their three-hour meeting, both leaders noted the particular importance of the processes in the USSR and eastern and central Europe. "Given the dramatic changes taking place in the world today, we must act together as friends and partners," H. Kohl said. "The U.S. and German positions on all important issues are very, very close," G. Bush noted.

Despite this, both leaders' speeches revealed their countries' different approaches to the question of aid for the Soviet Union. The German chancellor advocated providing economic aid, while the U.S. President would prefer to confine himself at this point to humanitarian efforts.

"We would like the situation in the Soviet Union to move toward freedom, democracy, and the rule of law, and we are aware that a liberal democratic society can only be created in the USSR on the basis of a federal political structure," H. Kohl said. "I hope that the treaty to be signed this week—on relations between the central authorities and the republics—will involve as many republics as possible. That is a condition for the creation of a healthy, sound economy and economic development."

"It would be sensible to help now so as to promote the establishment of a free liberal order in the Soviet Union. If we do this later, I foresee that it will cost more," H. Kohl said.

I will cite without comment two questions put to G. Bush and his answers.

[Question] Mr. President, you have said on two occasions recently that, as long as Soviet missiles are targeted against the United States, we cannot be friends and allies. How do you regard the seriousness of this threat now? Might the question of aid be "linked" with this problem in the future?

[Bush] The threat is considerably, considerably less than in the past. Let us hope that the dramatic progress made over the last two weeks will continue and that we will not face this problem in the future. The problem is definitely not what it was in the past now; however, we still have duties in the security sphere. We will wait and see. If the missiles were not targeted against the United States, however, that would help a great deal.

[Question] Do you think that this problem is directly linked with the provision of food or other aid?

[Bush] No, I do not see any link here with the provision of food aid.

Northeast Asia

Medvedev Meets With South Korean Prime Minister

LD1909141691 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo September 19 TASS—South Korean Prime Minister Chon Won-sik met visiting Soviet presidential envoy Vadim Medvedev in Seoul today. Medvedev handed to the Korean premier a message from Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Soviet interrepublican economic committee. During the meeting the sides confirmed their commitment to mutual obligations in financial and economic cooperation.

Mevdedev also met other members of the South Korean Government.

The Soviet envoy briefed some 100 leading South Korean business representatives on the situation in the Soviet Union and the future of Soviet-Korean cooperation. He said steps are being made to ensure favourable conditions for foreign investments in the Soviet economy, mainly in the oil processing industry, the YONHAP news agency reports. Vadim Medvedev also stressed that South Korean credits will both help the

Soviet Union overcome the present-day difficulties and promote future relations between Moscow and Seoul.

Scientific, Industrial Cooperation

LD2009153591 Moscow TASS in English 1217 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Kuchko]

[Text] Tokyo September 20 TASS—South Korean President No Tae-u and other leaders of the country ensured the Soviet Union that they will fulfil all bilateral credit and financial agreements. South Korean leading business circles stand for the earliest implementation of the agreements, Vadim Medvedev, Soviet president's personal envoy," told TASS in a telephone conversation at the end of his five-day Seoul visit.

Difficulties in the Soviet economy do not lessen South Korean interest in the Soviet market, Medvedev said. Their businesses would like to participate in developing natural resources of Siberia and the Far East. Leading corporations are interested in new forms of scientific and industrial cooperation.

Much attention was paid to the situation on the Korean peninsula at the talks. South Korea and the Soviet Union agree that the UN membership of both Korean states can promote inter-Korean dialogue.

Supplies To Start Oct

LD2109082591 Moscow TASS in English 0741 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's envoy Vadim Medvedev returned from Seoul to Moscow late on Friday.

He told TASS that "on the whole one can say the trip was successful."

He delivered Gorbachev's message to President No Tae-u of South Korea and held talks with South Korean businessmen.

"We discussed bilateral economic and financial relations, including ways to carry out an agreement signed in the beginning of the year, which envisages a three million U.S. dollar credit to the Soviet Union," Medvedev said.

"I will tell you that the coordination of some specific aspects of the implementation of this agreement took us rather much time. However, both sides showed understanding and stressed the need for such assistance and fulfilment of their commitments," Medvedev said.

He said they also agreed to start goods supplies this October.

Shevardnadze, ROK Opposition Kim Meet in Moscow

Sign Cooperation Communique

LD2109050591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1226 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sep 20 (TASS)—To promote peace and security, and the establishment of a new democratic order in the world is what Eduard Shevardnadze and Kim Tae-chung agreed upon during their meeting in Moscow. The joint chairman of the Council of the Movement for Democratic Reforms and his conversation partner from the Republic of Korea, who is president of the Democratic Party [Peace and Democracy Party], have signed a joint communique to underpin the purposes of cooperation between the two mass sociopolitical organizations. Provisions have been made for contacts between their representatives, for scientific seminars, and for joint activity at an international level.

Four-Point Agreement Detailed

SK2009033191 Seoul YONHAP in English 0244 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept. 20 (YONHAP)—South Korean opposition leader Kim Tae-chung and former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze agreed Thursday to form a sisterhood relationship between their political parties.

The heads of the Democratic Party of Korea and the alliance of democratic movement met in the movement's office and signed a four-point agreement on personnel exchanges between their organizations, promotion of world peace, Korea-Soviet friendship and speeding up democratization.

Kim accepted an honorary professorship at Moscow University from University President Anatoliy Logunov before meeting with Shevardnadze.

ROK's No Tae-u To Address United Nations

SK2209054691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 21 Sep 91

[From "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] ROK President No Tae-u left for North America yesterday. He will deliver an address at the UN General Assembly and will visit Mexico.

He will deliver an address at the United Nations for the first time, having gained full rights as member of the United Nations two days ago,

According to Chongwadae [presidential residence] spokesman, No Tae-u will deliver epoch-making proposals in his address, for the guaranty of peace and stability on the Korean peninsula and for peaceful reunification of the North and South.

The leader of the Seoul administration will meet with U.S. President Bush. The Korean Broadcasting System reported that leaders of the two countries will pay special attention to the nuclear plan of North Korea.

The official presidential entourage—including Yi Sang-ok, minister of foreign affairs; Kim Yong-sam, executive chairman of the ruling party, Democratic Liberal Party; Kim Tae-chung, president of the opposition party, Democratic Party; and other ROK politicians—will arrive in New York.

Prior to departure, President No Tae-u said at the airport that the entry of the ROK into the United Nations signifies to the Korean people the termination of the cold war, which was responsible for two tragedies: division of the country and the Korean war. He said that the ROK people are on the threshold of a new era for peace and reunification.

The president expressed his conviction that the separate entry of the North and the South into the United Nations is only temporary, and that the North-South reunification is at hand.

Proposal on Economic Union in Far East Viewed

SK2209071691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Olga Alexeyeva commentary from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Kim (Chuk-ki), director of [word indistinct] World Economy Institute, said in Seoul: "The Soviet Union, China, the ROK, and the DPRK should form an economic union in Northeast Asia."

Station commentator Olga Alekseyeva writes, concerning this statement: There is no question that a plan for an economic union among the five countries in the Far East will draw great attention from the Soviet Union. This is because the Soviet Union has put forward such a plan on more than one occasion, as is well expressed in very high-level statements.

The Soviet Union is greatly interested in developing mutually complementary and close cooperation with all the countries in the Far East. We perceive this kind of cooperation to be one of the effective ways to push ahead with economic growth in the far eastern area of our country.

However, it is not just the economic aspect of such a plan that draws our attention. The ROK economist's plan perfectly corresponds to the affirmative changes now taking place in international relations in the Far East.

First of all, I would like to note the complete normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. This normalization process, which began 2 years ago, has provided the two countries with a motive to develop economic cooperation between the two countries.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the ROK last year is significant in itself. As a result, the artificial political obstacles in the way of the development of ties mutually beneficial to the two countries have been removed.

It is also important to note the fact that the volume of trade between Beijing and Seoul has reached a very high level, even though the two sides have not normalized diplomatic relations. The volume of trade between them last year was estimated at $3.8 billion. This is only part of the conspicuous changes that have taken place in the Far East. This provides favorable conditions for making the plan for an economic union a success.

Nevertheless, there are some factors that blur the situation in the region. I would like to point out the continuing tensions on the Korean peninsula. Regrettably, given North-South relations, it is hard to foresee an economic union in the region. Even the political obstacles before the development of normal relations between the Soviet Union and Japan have not been removed completely.

There are other, purely economic difficulties. The ruble's inconvertibility is one example. This notwithstanding, there are grounds to be optimistic about the future, the quality of our country's domestic political situation, for example, is changing at a time when the international situation is becoming much healthier. With the recent attempt of conservative forces to change the political situation and the dissolution thereof, the country has ridden itself of major obstacles to drastic economic reforms.

I am convinced that the reforms will be pushed ahead more actively. This will provide preconditions favorable to the process of realigning the Soviet economic with the world economic structure. This is also a problem that is associated with the Far East.

DPRK Diplomat Calls Report 'Dirty Slander'

PM1909130191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 91 p 5

[A. Platkovskiy report: "Did Kim Chong-il Work for the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]?"]

[Text] "Dirty slander and a blatant provocation," is how Yi Chol-Gvan [last element of name as transliterated], counselor at the Embassy of the DPRK characterized the REUTER news agency report which KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA published on Saturday, 14 September. It mentioned, inter alia, the secret directive of Kim Il-song's son Kim Chong-il sent to North Korean diplomats in Moscow entrusting them with the task of "clarifying what possibilities there are for the conservatives to come to power in the USSR and in the event of a coup d'etat to assist them." The agency received this information from the "best informed person to defect from the North during all the years of the two Koreas' existence"—Ko Yen Khvan [name as transliterated],

first secretary of the DPRK Embassy in the Congo. The North Korean diplomat was in Moscow last summer, and it was there that he found out about the existence of this directive.

"We do not have at our disposal information about whether the person you named was at our embassy or not. It is extremely difficult to clarify this," a counselor at the embassy said in a telephone interview.

It is of course not possible to establish whether or not there was a directive from Pyongyang or not. It is another matter, and no secret, that the North Korean leadership was close and overtly sympathetic to our politicians on the conservative wing, including those who became members of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]. Beginning in the summer of last year the DPRK's press actively propagandized its views on paths for social development. The putschists' defeat was a serious blow for the Pyongyang ruling circles which were forced to take emergency measures double quick to save the regime. As a result, the process of transferring power from the leader into the hands of his successor, Kim Chong-il, is still very much in question. As Ko Yen Khvan stated at a news conference in Seoul, "I think that the regime will not even last five years."

Incidentally, on the subject of the "heir." The defector told how "he leads a life ten times more luxurious than Kim Il-song's." Expensive wines and black caviar are ordered for him through embassies abroad. He is surrounded by beauties aged 19 or 20 who are specially selected from all over the country.

In this connection, The address to DPRK youth that Kim Chong-il gave at the end of August seems curious: "If you, young men and women, wish to sing songs, then sing songs about your own leader, party, and socialist system."

Yakovlev Opens Center for Study of Japan in Moscow

LD2209105491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0800 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Opening of the first executive commission of the center for the study of contemporary Japan took place at the Moscow Institute of International Economics and International Relations. An agreement to set up such a center was signed during Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Japan last spring. Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, who will be chairman of the center, answering journalists' questions, said that the center will get involved in studying the whole range of specific features of the Japanese miracle, from cultural to technological advancements. The attempt to identify the change in socio-economic formations will be one of the important scholarly tasks of the center, using the example of post-capitalist Japan. Aleksandr Yakovlev says he does not know of any exclusively capitalist or socialist country.

Near East & South Asia

Primakov Reaches Gas-Arms Deal With Iran

PM2009155091 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 19 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by Safa Ha'iri: "Primakov Reaches Deal With Hashemi-Rafsanjani"]

[Excerpts] Paris—Informed diplomatic sources in Tehran contacted from Paris have said that yesterday, Iran responded positively to an urgent Soviet request to postpone payment for natural gas imported from Iran, and exchange part of the cash payments for advanced Soviet weapons.

The deal was reached during talks between Yevgeney Primakov—Soviet President Mikhail Gorabachev's envoy—and Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani. The discussions broached the economic problems facing the new union. Tehran Radio quoted Primakov as saying that "Iran is a country which can help to alleviate the Soviet Union's enormous economic problems." [passage omitted]

Informed sources have said that the Soviet Union has so far failed to make some of the payments due under the agreement for the purchase of natural gas from Iran. One of Primakov's requests to Rafsanjani was that the Soviets be given time to pay for the gas and that deliveries of gas be continued during the severe winter months. An Iranian diplomatic source made this comment: "This is the basic substance of Gorbachev's message. He wants Iran to continue to give him the gas in return for more weapons, if possible."

Rejects 'New Intervention' in Iraq

LD2209021491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] The Soviet president's special envoy, Yevgeniy Primakov, has said that the Soviet Union is against any new intervention by the allied forces in Iraq. Speaking at the end of his two-day visit to Turkey, Primakov said that Iraq must strictly comply with the United Nations Security Council's resolutions. About the growing tensions in relations between Baghdad and Washington, Primakov said he hoped that it would not lead to the resumption of combat operations.

Comments on Peace Conference

LD2109215591 Moscow TASS in English 2110 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Ruben Shirinian]

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—"I can say without any exaggeration that the results of the tour are fairly good," the Soviet president's personal envoy Yevgeniy

Primakov told TASS today upon his arrival at Moscow airport from a tour of the Middle and Near East.

"The development of events in our country is correctly understood in all countries we have visited. They have drawn correct conclusions and decided on support for President Mikhail Gorbachev".

"In a number of countries," he said, "we were given serious financial support, credits for purchasing food and consumer goods".

Primakov said "The main task now is to adjust the mechanism inside the country to keep all this from sinking through the sand".

"What we need here is to work with our sleeves rolled up in order to ensure the best possible use of resources received from other countries taking into account our realities, including the winning of sovereignty by republics, as well as the drive to preserve common economic space".

The convocation of a peace conference on the Middle East settlement, Primakov said, could not be dropped from the agenda of meetings and talks. But prospects for holding such a conference in October are "still uncertain", primarily because of the Israeli position, despite the fact that the United States is for the first time bringing pressure to bear on Israel.

Primakov noted, however, that this pressure "has not yet brought about radical shifts in the Israeli position".

"There is counteraction on the part of the most extremist-minded Palestinian circles," Primakov added, " but on the whole, I think, the Palestinian position is now more flexible and more favourable toward the convocation of the conference".

Primakov noted that in order to hold the conference, "a distance in time is needed". But along with this, Primakov said he was against postponing the conference.

He said the fact of convening the conference would mark "a step forward along the path of peaceful settlement" in the Middle East.

Describes Results of Talks

LD2009221191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1959 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Chelyshev]

[Text] Istanbul, 20 Sep (TASS)—The USSR president's personal representative, Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, is finishing his tour of a number of Near Eastern countries. After finishing his talks with officials in Turkey, he gave an interview to a TASS correspondent in which he has drawn some preliminary conclusions on the results of his meetings with the leaders of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Iran, and Turkey.

One of the major aims of my busy trip, noted the USSR president's personal representative, was to discuss with the leaders of these countries questions of political and economic cooperation during the new stage in USSR development, with a special emphasis on economy. The countries I have visited are of specific interest to us: Some have large financial resources, others—such as Turkey and Iran—are taking part in the development of our economy and suppply us with necessary goods. President M.S. Gorbachev instructed me to inform heads of these countries about the state of affairs in the USSR. To all of them I have delivered personal messages from the Soviet leader, which were received with enormous interest and attention, noted Primakov.

During these meetings, regional problems, problems of settlement in the Near East, measures for strenghtening and stabilizing the situation in the Persian Gulf, as well as the situation in Afganistan after signing of the joint Soviet-American statement, were discussed.

The general impressions after the tour: First of all, the countries I have visited belong to that majority of states that have positively reacted toward the foiling of the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union. Second, all these countries clearly do not wish the disintegration of the Soviet state. Their leaders, while welcoming the processes of strenghtening self-determination and sovereignity of the republics, consider it necessary that a united economic and military-strategic area of the USSR be preserved. Third, they want to develop their relations with us and advocate help to the Soviet economy partnership, which, in their opinion, would be in their interest. This means our large market, opportunities that could be realized through conversion of our military industry, and use of the scientific, material, and production potentials of our country. In this regard, we have managed to agree on a whole number of steps in the area of expanding economic cooperation with the countries of this region, including new capital investments into the USSR economy, and new credits.

And one more conclusion: The leaders that I have met want a USSR presence in the Near and Middle East, because this would preserve the balance of power. Nobody wants some power to maintain a monopoly position there. These states understand that our country creates an area of stability in this region with its new policy of non-confrontation with anyone, a policy oriented toward searching for ways of making interests coincide with those of other countries. That is why they welcome and support our new course, concluded Y.M. Primakov.

Belonogov Talks with Tunisian, PLO Leaders

LD2109194291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1918 GMT 20 Sep 91

[TASS correspondent Vadim Lagutin]

[Text] Tunisia, 20 Sep (TASS)—The visit to Tunisia by Aleksandr Belonogov, USSR deputy minister of foreign

affairs, has ended. He held consultations with the leaders of the Tunisian Foreign Ministry, and of the PLO, on the problems of a Middle East settlement. A.M. Belonogov gave a high appraisal of the talks with the Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Benyahya, which revealed a coincidence of views of the two sides on all the problems discussed, including the issue of calling a Middle East peace conference. "We hope that all the countries of the Arab Maghreb will eventually express their desire to participate in such a conference. Tunisia is also in favor of this," A.M. Belonogov stressed. In an interview to a TASS correspondent he said that he met three times with Y. 'Arafat, the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. "My efforts were aimed at clearing a way to mutual understanding between the Palestinian representatives and the American side in connection with the preparation of the 'memorandum of understanding' which is to be given to the Palestinians, and in which the U.S. approach to a whole series of problems of the Middle East process will be set out. I will not hide the fact, A.M. Belonogov said, that there are still certain difficulties. However, I hope that the frank business-like conversations with 'Arafat and other PLO leaders have helped in bringing about a regular meeting in Amman today between the Palestinians and U.S. Secretary of State Baker. It should be supposed that this is an important step on the path to opening a peace conference. The Soviet Union, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said, is prepared for any participation by the Palestinians in the peace conference: either as an independent delegation or as a joint delegation with Jordan, since due to the nature of relations between Israel and the PLO, the only possible option to ensure Palestinaian participation is their inclusion in a joint delegation with Jordan. Whoever is personally included in the Palestinian part of the joint delegation will reflect the approach to the talks of the Palestinian movement as a whole, and therefore of the PLO as well. Any Palestinian, whether from the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem; from the diaspora; or a Jordanian of Palestinian origin will defend the national interests of the Palestinian people, he said. During the interview, A.M. Belonogov also noted that "a high level of mutual understanding" has been achieved between the USSR and the United States on the tasks of the peace conference and on how the cochairmen will act at this conference. On the instruction of M.S. Gorbachev, Y. 'Arafat was given a message of gratitude from the Soviet president for the message the Palestinian leader sent to him in connection with the collapse of the coup d'etat in the USSR.

In accordance with the changes in the travel program of A.M. Belonogov, he flew today from Tunisia to Cairo, where he will hold talks with Egyptian leaders on the problems of a Middle East settlement.

Holds Talks in Cairo

LD2109231191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1631 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Krutikhin]

[Text] Cairo, 21 Sep (TASS)—Alexander Belonogov, USSR deputy foreign minister, met 'Usamah al-Baz, Foreign Ministry under-secretary and director of the Political Office of the president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, in Cairo today.

The Soviet guest arrived in Egypt on an unexpected visit from Tunisia. It had been thought that he was meant to leave from Tunisia for Algeria.

The meeting, the MENA agency reports, took place within the framework of consultations between the two countries—on the problems of the Near East and efforts toward a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Personal Envoy of King Fahd Visits Moscow

Soviet-Saudi Links Discussed

LD2209040491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1922 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep (TASS)—Ivan Silayev, the chairman of the interrepublican economic committee, received Amir Bandar Bin-Sultan, the personal representative of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, in Moscow today. In the course of their conversation, particular attention was devoted to a discussion of the condition of, and prospects for, the development of Soviet-Saudi links in the economic, financial, and other spheres.

A shared interest in establishing mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries was expressed, taking into account the great possibilities opening up at this stage of the Soviet Union's transition to a market economy.

Agreement was reached on continuing contacts with the aim of working out specific proposals, which could facilitate a broadening out and consolidation of Soviet-Saudi relations.

Soviet POW's Discussed

LD2109012891 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy had today a conversation with envoy of the Saudi king, Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan. Some aspects of Soviet-Saudi relations were discussed in a businesslike constructive way. The economic aspect of these relations is playing an ever more remarkable role. The sides also discussed practical matters resulting from a meeting between President Mikhail Gorbachev and Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan.

A thorough exchange of opinions on the Middle East and Persian Gulf situation and the Afghan problem was also held. Viewpoints coincided on many matters. Prince Bandar's attention was drawn to the destiny of Soviet servicemen taken prisoner during hostilities in Afghanistan. It was emphasised that they should be released before the ceasefire agreement goes into operation.

The envoy of the Saudi king promised his assistance in an early settlement to this important humanitarian matter.

Arms Embargo Unlikely To Halt Afghan Jihad

PM2009123191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[By correspondent Yu. Vladimirov: "Jihad, Only Jihad! Afghan Opposition Favors Continuing the War"]

[Text] Kabul—Afghans tired of war have been hopeful about a new measure to reduce the level of tension in the Afghan conflict. The measure in question is the Soviet-U.S. joint statement on the discontinuation of arms shipments to the warring factions.

At an emergency Afghan Council of Ministers session Afghan President Najibollah dwelt on the details of the actual mechanism for discontinuing arms shipments. He assessed the fulfillment of this work, which is aimed at ending the war in Afghanistan and establishing peace, as an important step.

However, even now rockets are continuing to fall on Kabul. Judging by information reaching us, Afghan opposition leaders—including moderates—are by no means overjoyed about the Soviet-U.S. initiative. "The discontinuation of military shipments will substantially affect the Afghan opposition's position, while having virtually no impact on the position of the Kabul regime, which has considerable stocks of weapons," Sibghatullah Mojadeddi, head of the mujahidin provisional government, told Voice of America. Nor, in his opinion, will the extremist opposition wing be affected. S. Mojadeddi is probably referring to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Islamic Party of Afghanistan. The extremists, he said, have large financial resources and will be able, if necessary, to meet all their own needs by acquiring weapons on the free market. "Until the Najib regime is ousted one way or another and an Islamic government established which takes mujahidin and refugee interests into account, the jihad in Afghanistan will continue."

Equally categorical is the position taken by G. Hekmatyar, who stated that the mujahidin will never enter into talks with Najibollah, let alone participate with him in a coalition.

Weapons Sales to Middle East Will Continue

JN2109174391 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I in Arabic 19 Sep 91 p 3

[By Rif'at al-Najjar]

[Text] Bologna—According to a senior Soviet official, the USSR will not withdraw from the international arms market despite the fact that it is converting a major portion of its military industries to the civilian sector. He disclosed that by 1993, 65 percent of Soviet military industries will have been converted to civilian industrial production.

Nikolayevich Vitchovsky, first deputy minister for the USSR Ministry of Weapons Industries [name and title as published], told AL-ITTIHAD that in the absence of an agreement with the United States banning arms sales to the Middle East, Soviet arms exports to the region will continue.

In Bologna, for an exposition of military industries converted to peaceful industrial uses, the Soviet official discussed Soviet industry against the backdrop of the upheaval sweeping his country. By 1988, he noted, already 35 percent of Soviet military production had been diverted to civilian functions, and by 1990 this level had reached 50 percent. By 1993, 65 percent of Soviet military industries will have been geared to civilian purposes, he added.

Vitchovsky indicated that the technology used in tank and armored car production has now been applied in the production of tractors, diesel engines, and giant trucks. The technology employed in explosives is now being used to serve civilian chemical and medicinal needs. The Soviet official said Arab, especially Gulf, capital was welcome to invest in this area. The Soviet Union plans to embark on an overall streamlining of its military industries to match their counterparts in advanced nations, he added.

Asked what the Soviet Union planned to do with its huge military arsenal, Vitchovsky said that all the advanced weapons that are still in good shape are up for sale, under terms set by the United Nations. As for older types of weapons, the export of which is banned, these will be destroyed.

Regarding the fate of military agreements with Middle East states, specifically Libya and Iraq, he noted that they still stand. The Soviet Union remains bound by all UN resolutions, especially those banning the supply of military hardware to the Iraqi regime. The first deputy of the Soviet Ministry for Weapons Industries said that his country is pondering the implications of the Gulf war for Soviet military industries, especially given the highly sophisticated technology used in action.

Asked about the purpose of staging the first fair of military industries converted into civilian industrial uses, the minister said: We want to prove our good faith in our relations with the West and the world at large, and, in the meantime, be a partner in industrial cooperation.

Asked about the fate of the Ministry for Weapons Industries in light of the changes in the Soviet Union, Vitchovsky said the ministry is a huge economic complex and center for advanced industries in various areas, and is now being reoriented toward enhancing the quality of life in the country.

He estimated that the value of the military sector shifted to civilian production in 1991 was approximately 2.2 billion rubles, and that the production of the rocket known in the West as "SS-23" has been discontinued. In terms of switching from the military sector to civilian production—qualitatively and quantitatively—the USSR is now second to none, the Soviet official said.

U.S.-Syria Talks; Conference Prospects 'Unclear'

PM2009114191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Union Edition p 5

[By correspondent M. Kozhevnikov: "J. Baker Not Revealing His Cards"]

[Text] Damascus—A few hours before the U.S. secretary of state arrived in Damascus a commentator on Radio Monte Carlo, which is popular in the Near East, predicted with a fair degree of optimism that Baker would have no problems in Syria. However, judging by the fact that the Syrian-U.S. talks lasted for six hours without a break and ended only toward midnight, it was not all plain sailing there...

Right after his meeting with President H. al-Asad and other leaders of the Syrian Arab Republic, J. Baker declared at a news conference held here that the chief object of the protracted consultations had been the package of U.S. proposals concerning the convening of a Near East peace conference, which he had brought to Damascus. He confirmed that the U.S. Administration is firmly convinced of the need to hold such a forum as soon as possible. The head of the U.S. foreign policy department said that the Arab-Israeli talks process must be based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, as well as the principle of "peace for territory." Baker declared that he prefers, at present, not to reveal the essence of Washington's proposals.

One of the pointed questions put to the U.S. secretary of state concerned the Golan Heights, which are under Israeli occupation. Baker emphasized that Washington does not recognize Israel's annexation of these Syrian territories. However, he did not specify precisely how the United States conceives a solution to the Golan problem or what guarantees it can offer Damascus and Tel Aviv on this score. Touching on the U.S. grant of a $10 billion loan to Israel, Baker emphasized the U.S. Administration's known position of deferring consideration of this question until the peace conference has been convened. He declared that his country intends in the future to set the Israelis certain conditions concerning their use of U.S. financial assistance.

For his part, Syrian Foreign Minister F. al-Shar' spoke positively of Washington's position on the question of loans to Israel, and declared that it attests to the sincerity of the Bush administration's intentions in the matter of ensuring peace in the region. The minister said that a reply will be given to the proposals conveyed to the Syrians by J. Baker after an in-depth and careful study of them. Al-Shar' did not rule out the possibility that Damascus might demand some amendments.

Thus, the prospects for convening the Near East peace forum remain unclear following the U.S. secretary of state's visit to the Syrian capital. As political observers emphasize—despite the activeness of U.S. diplomacy, the main obstacles in the way of a settlement have still not been overcome. Nor has there been any increase in optimism in commentaries by local Arab observers, who continue to hold Israel entirely responsible for blocking the peace efforts. The U.S. secretary of state himself made a noteworthy statement to the effect that he could not at that moment give a definite reply as to whether he would have to return yet again, for the eighth time, to the Near East to hold additional consultations.

Gorbachev, Yasir 'Arafat Exchange Messages

PM2309092791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Union Edition p 5

[WAFA report in "IZVESTYIYA Teletype Room" roundup: "M. Gorbachev and Y. 'Arafat Exchange Messages"]

[Text] As the WAFA news agency has reported, on Thursday [19 September] PLO Chairman Y. 'Arafat and USSR President M. Gorbachev exchanged messages on the international conference for the Near East settlement planned for October. M. Gorbachev's message was conveyed to Y. 'Arafat by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A. Belonogov. Y. 'Arafat sent a reply addressed to M. Gorbachev via the Soviet diplomat noting "confidence in the Soviet Union's effective support for the idea of achieving peace in the Near East."

Sub-Saharan Africa

Envoy Urges Diplomatic Relations With S. Africa

OW2009184291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 20 Sep 91

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet ambassador to Botswana Boris Asoyan, a leading Soviet expert on African affairs, believes it is time to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa.

He believes that South Africa has as a matter of fact brought down the totalitarian regime and the dismantling of apartheid has become irreversible. Asoyan believes that in legal terms there is no more apartheid in South Africa.

True, a great is still to be done. In the minds of people apartheid will live on. The Soviet diplomat believes this is very similar to the situation in the Soviet Union, where the end of totalitarian rule does not mean the abolition of totalitarian mentality.

Asoyan is certain that the leaders of South Africa and the country's white and black communities will come to the negotiating table to achieve accord, essential to building a democratic South Africa.

With that South Africa the Soviet Union will certainly have diplomatic relations. The Soviet ambassador to Botswana believes that South Africa will be one of the Soviet Union's priorities in the continent.

Asoyan said that "in our turbulant times it is hard to tell exactly when the Soviet Union and South Africa may establish diplomatic relations. This can happen any time. But there is every indication that things are going in the right direction."

East Europe

TASS Observer on Yugoslavia, EC Mediation

LD2209035691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1621 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS international observer Vladimir Shelepin]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Sep (TASS)—The situation in Yugoslavia has been discussed at the UN Security Council. Germany spoke in favor of mass action. Washington regards actions by the Serbian leadership and by the Yugoslav military as a serious challenge to CSCE principles. Meanwhile the federal Army, which has gone out of the government's control, builds up its intervention in Croatia, exposing towns to bombing and artillery shelling. The actual involvment of the Republic of Bosna-Hercegovina in the war presents a particular danger. Vladimir Shelepin, TASS international observer, writes:

Instead of the resignation of Defense Minister Kadijevic, there is at present a complete disruption of the latest cease-fire agreement and and escalation of the Army's efforts to occupy Croatia. It seems that the generals have decided to achieve "regulation" in their own way—by supressing everything and everyone by military force.

Everything points to the fact that the nationalistic Communist elements in Belgrade, which have the federal Army under their control, will not compromise. They want to either preserve "a little empire" in the Balkans, or in the last resort to redraw the internal borders between the republics of the former SFRY, and recreate "greater Serbia." This can be done only by force.

However, as reports from foreign journalists show, imperial ambitions are far from being to all Serbians' liking. An antiwar movement is being formed in the country, and calls from soldiers' mothers and other citizens for the servicemen in the federal Army to refuse to participate in a fratricidal war are heard more and more often. The experience of the three August days in the USSR show that such calls can be heard. And this gives hope.

Can the world community somehow help to stop the slaughter? The Croatian foreign minister called on it to send "military forces to stop the aggression" in the country. Any such action would, however, without consent from Belgrade be qualified as interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, as the SFRY still remains the only subject of international law.

An interview with Yuriy Deryabin, new USSR deputy foreign minister, was published in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on 21 September. "As an official" he stated: "Our previous position of principle has not changed. It is to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, taking into account the right to self-determination for its peoples." But it is hardly possible not to notice that new realities are coming into being. According to the deputy minister, it is not excluded that Slovenia and Croatia might be be recognized by some countries. These realities, incidentally, are taken into account by the EC as well. Therefore Moscow's position "stops being too harsh, and becomes more flexible."

Some former USSR republics have a position that is even "more flexible." As NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA stresses, Lithuania and Georgia have already recognized Slovenia and Croatia, and the Ukraine is going to establish diplomatic relations with Croatia. It follows from Yuriy Deryabin's words that "under certain conditions" recognition on the part of the Soviet Union could follow. In any event, however, the key factors for mediation are at present in the hands of the European Community. The world expects decisive steps from them before the southern Slavs kill each other.

Steps To Resolve Situation Vie ved

LD2309051591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0410 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Nikolay Maslov and Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations, 23 Sep (TASS)—The situation in Yugoslavia and the possible steps by the United Nations to resolve the acute crisis in this country were discussed at a meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar at a meeting that took place here on Sunday.

The Soviet minister told journalists after the meeting that the situation in Yugoslavia was the main theme of the conversation. On the one hand, the situation is continuing to be exacerbated; on the other hand, temporary relief has been achieved—both sides have agreed on a cease-fire. Our opinions on the possible role of the Security Council in this question coincided.

Boris Pankin suggested that the United Nations could appeal to all sides involved in the conflict in Yugoslavia to observe the cease-fire agreement that was reached on Sunday, and begin to search for a solution to the problem through talks.

In turn, Budimir Loncar expressed the hope that ceasing military actions in Yugoslavia will open up the way for civilized dialogue. He supported the idea of the convocation of the Security Council, as many members of the United Nations propose, so that this question may be discussed and a resolution adopted that would express the acute concern of the world community concerning this matter. This resolution would call upon the opposing sides to cease fire, sit at the negotiation table, and think about the new union in which the republics that are now part of Yugoslavia might find themselves.

It is possible that the Security Council will convene no later than Wednesday [25 September] at the ministerial level and discuss this question, Boris Pankin continued. Some countries are raising the possibility of sending UN forces to Yugoslavia or using some kind of sanction. The Yugoslav minister hopes that such decisions will not be made. He believes that the resolutions adopted by the Security Council session might have a favorable influence on the development of the situation in Yugoslavia. The Soviet Union also adheres to the opinion that this would be enough at this stage.

During the course of the meeting, the Soviet foreign minister said in conclusion, the possibility of a trip to Yugoslavia by the UN secretary general was mentioned. That may be the next step.

Arms to Yugoslavia 'Practically' Halted

PM2009104791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Sep 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent report: "We Are Not Supplying Arms"]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep—A TASS diplomatic correspondent was informed at the USSR Foreign Ministry that J. Ramaker, a counselor-envoy at the embassy of the Netherlands, which has been chairing the European Communities organs since 1 July this year, was invited to the ministry's administration for security and cooperation in Europe 18 September.

In connection with the EC appeal to the USSR to join the embargo on deliveries of arms and military equipment to Yugoslavia, the following statement was made to the counselor-envoy:

"It is common knowledge that a number of countries have imposed an embargo on deliveries of arms and military hardware to Yugoslavia. Although it has not formally joined the embargo, the Soviet Union has practically halted special supplies to the country. Our position is based on the consideration that sending weapons to Yugoslavia will further aggravate the situation in that country, the Balkans, and the continent as a whole. In this spirit the Soviet side welcomes the initiative made by the Twelve."

'Secret' Arms Supplies to People's Army Revealed

PM2309090591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov: "What the Soviet Marshal Promised the Yugoslav General"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—[passage omitted] The mass media has reported on a session of the Federal Executive Council (the country's government). The newspaper BORBA cites sensational details from that session, at which Premier A. Markovic demanded the resignation of Army General Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, and his deputy, Admiral Brovet. The reason is purely political. The government head disagrees in principle with the high command on the use of the army to resolve interrepublic and interethnic disputes and conflicts. Markovic, apparently, had been opposed to the military intervention in Slovenia. The government adopted a decision to protect the state border on that republic's territory, but no one in the government had ever talked about military interference.

In A. Markovic's opinion, the war in Croatia is due to the republic leadership's erroneous policy toward the Serbs living there. At the same time, however, this is also a war to recarve borders in Yugoslavia. The premier said that he tried to discuss the Croatia situation at a government session back on 27 August, Gen Kadijevic, however, did not attend the session. He has attended only two government sessions since March. Nor has the government received a reply to the question of what a Yugoslav military delegation headed by Gen Kadijevic was doing in Moscow on 13 March this year, and why nothing was known about its visit there. The substance of the delegation's discussion with Minister Yazov still remains a mystery. Later, some Russian leaders informed the premier that the "Kadijevic team" had negotiations in Moscow on the supply of a large quantity of arms and military equipment to the Yugoslav People's Army, including Soviet missile systems, warplanes, and helicopters. The deliveries were to have been made in secret, circumventing official agreements between the two countries' governments.

The premier's statement has triggered a stormy discussion. The government session is continuing.

West Europe

Italian Prime Minister Arrives for Visit 22 Sep

Greeted by Silayev

LD2209182691 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti on Sunday arrived in Moscow on a two-day working visit.

At Sheremetyevo Airport, he was met by Ivan Silayev, head of the Interrepublican Economic Committee.

Silayev called the visit "a continuation of the traditional dialogue of mutual understanding". He told TASS talks with Andreotti will focus on Italy's credits to the Soviet Union and investments in the Soviet economy.

Silayev said some political issues may also be discussed.

Andreotti is expected to meet Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The visit has obviously been prompted by the need to assess the situation in the Soviet Union and discuss economic cooperation in new circumstances engendered by republics' drive for sovereignty and economic independence.

Meets With Gorbachev

LD2309122491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Excerpt] President Gorbachev has held a meeting in the Kremlin with Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy who arrived in the Soviet Union for a short working visit. The situation in the Soviet Union and Europe, as well as bilateral relations, especially economic relations, have been discussed.

Next on Giulio Andreotti's program are a meeting with President of Russia Boris Yeltsin and talks with the head of the Interrepublican Economic Committee Ivan Silayev. [passage omitted]

Primakov Meets With Turkish Leaders 20 Sep

LD2109013591 Moscow TASS in English 1957 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Litvinenko]

[Text] Ankara September 20 TASS—Yevgeniy Primakov, envoy of the Soviet president, is on a visit in Turkey. He was received today by Turkish Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz, Deputy Prime Minister Ekrem Pakdemirli and Speaker of the National Assembly (parliament) Kaya Erdem. The state of and prospects for the development of Soviet-Turkish political and economic relations were discussed. Both sides stated the readiness of their governments to develop these relations further.

Primakov informed Turkish leaders of processes in the Soviet Union and measures taken by the Soviet Government to invigorate the country's economy and prospects for the signing of a new Union agreement. He handed over to Turkish Prime Minister Yilmaz Gorbachev's message for Turkish President Turgut Ozal.

Summing up the results of the visit to Turkey, Primakov told TASS: "I saw again that there is an untapped potential in Soviet-Turkish relations which should be used by both sides. This idea was confirmed by Turkish leaders whom I met, specifically by Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz. There are good prospects for our relations".

Luzhkov on 'Rather Difficult' EEC Food Talks

LD2109222291 Moscow TASS in English 2102 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—Yuriy Luzhkov, deputy head of the Economic Management Committee, has expressed confidence that Soviet people will soon receive food aid from EEC countries. He led a government delegation at talks held at the Common Market Headquarters in Brussels. This statement was made by him in an interview with the Soviet TV news programme shown today.

Luzhkov said that "rather difficult talks" had been held on food deliveries to the USSR, on humanitarian assistance and short-term credits, the agreements on which are to be signed in the near future. According to Luzhkov, the question was raised on "a large long-term credit dealing with food supply to the country's population."

The head of the Soviet delegation said that EEC countries would also render major technical assistance in creating 500 farms complete with modern machinery, seeds and fertilisers.

Latin America & Caribbean

Nikolayenko Faces 'Delicate' Cuban Mission

LD2009183291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0820 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Kutikov]

[Text] Havana, 20 Sep (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.D. Nikolayenko arrived in Cuba today on a working visit faced with a difficult and extremely delicate mission: talks with the Cuban side on the forthcoming stage-by-stage withdrawal of the Soviet troop contigent on the island.

USSR President Gorbachev recently delivered the official statement on withdrawing the Soviet "training brigade" of more than 3,000 men from Cuba during U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker's visit to the Soviet Union.

To all appearances, Nikolayenko's Havana talks will be extremely complicated: Following the statement, the Cuban Foreign Ministry immediately called it "impermissible practice, in view of international norms and the treaties signed between Cuba and the USSR." The Cuban Foreign Ministry substantiated its position with the fact that the statement "was not preceded by either consultations or any kind of preliminary notification." In the wake of this, the Cuban leadership pointed out—through the official Communist Party newspaper GRANMA—that the USSR's unilateral decision on

withdrawing the brigade "is equivalent to giving the 'green light' to the United States' aggressive plans against Cuba." At the same time, the newspaper noted that Cuba might have agreed to the Soviet troop withdrawal at the same time as the abolition of the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo, the existence of which on national territory has been the subject of protest for many generations of Cubans.

In addition to the question of withdrawing the Soviet military contingent from the country's territory, it is expected that the agenda there will include questions on state of bilateral trade and economic cooperation and their prospects, since the term of operation of the Soviet-Cuban agreement on these issues signed last year runs out in December 1991.

Brigade Consultations End

LD2309061991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0346 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda]

[Excerpts] Havana, 23 Sep (TASS)—Consultatons between Valeriy Nikolayenko, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and Alcibiades Hidalgo, first deputy minister of foreign relations of Cuba, took place on 21-22 September in the Cuban capital in the context of the Soviet initiative for holding talks with Cuba on the withdrawal of the Soviet training brigade.

The representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs told the TASS correspondent that the attention of the Cuban side was drawn to the fact that "the proposal of the Soviet Union, aimed at lowering the tension around Cuba and in the region as a whole, is proceeding in line with the positive development of world processes and with the transition from confrontation to cooperation, from methods of force to political methods of resolving difficult questions." During the course of the consultations on this question, representatives of the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Relations adhered, on the whole, to "official positions publicly emphasized by them earlier." [passage omitted]

According to the results of the consultations that took place in Havana, the sides agreed that "talks on the practical aspects of the withdrawal in stages of the Soviet training brigade will take place in the near future. Concrete schedules for holding them will be agreed through diplomatic channels."

During the course of the exchange of opinions on the prospects for further development of Soviet-Cuban ties in various areas, "the mutual agreement was expressed on the need for their vital renewal." On the Soviet side, "the desire was affirmed for preserving the friendly nature of bilateral relations within the framework of their consistent de-ideologization, the transition to universally accepted international relations, of arting to cooperation between both countries a truly mutually beneficial character, living up to contemporary realities."

In reply to a question from the TASS correspondent, V. Nikolayenko, who is setting off today for New York, reported that in the planned consultations with U.S. representatives it is proposed to hold an exchange of opinions regarding the situation around Cuba. In light of the new Soviet initiative, discussions in New York are planned to cover possible further measures to lower the tension in American-Cuban relations. The Soviet diplomat said by way of elaboration that Bernard Aronson, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, will take part in these consultations on the American side.

Cuba States 'Displeasure' Over Pullout Decision

PM2109111791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Sep 91 p 3

[Report by Sergey Semendyayev: "Farewell, Beloved Island"]

[Text] B. Yeltsin's and then M. Gorbachev's statement on the need for a stageed withdrawal of Soviet troops from Cuban territory did not go unnoticed by any of the interested parties. Yesterday the Cuban leadership issued a statement saying it was surprised the question had actually been raised without preliminary agreement between official Soviet and Cuban delegations. In any case, the tone of the Cuban statement was one of ill-concealed displeasure felt by the leaders of the Island of Freedom in connection with a decision by the Soviet president which was made, Cubans are convinced, under pressure from American imperialism.

The Americans' position on this matter is clear. But what does the USSR Foreign Ministry think about it? Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, told your ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent that Gorbachev's statement came as no suprise to the Soviet foreign policy department.

According to U.S. data, "Soviet military personnel in Cuba include 1,200 military advisers, a combat brigade numbering around 2,600 servicemen, and around 2,000 technical specialists in Lurdes, an important Soviet listening post not far from Havana, where they monitor communications in the United States." Vitaliy Churkin refused to comment on these figures, saying that he was not qualified to do so.

Political & Social

IZVESTIYA Runs Gorbachev, Editors Meeting

PM2009224791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Abbreviated stenographic report featuring 17 Sepember conversation of media heads with M.S. Gorbachev at IZVESTIYA office: "Talk With USSR President Over Cup of Tea"]

[Text] Like any informal talk, with no presidium, speakers, and so forth, this meeting had no organizing principle either. While they were placing the cups on the table and sorting out who was having tea and who was having coffee, someone recalled the State Council session held the day before and remarked that on one question everyone present had surely been unanimous, namely: the need to preserve on the scale of the former Union the conditions for the development of science as an integrated entity.

Gorbachev: It seems that the West is so interested in our scientific research work that it is even proposing the following option: Of each million of your debt you need not pay half a million on condition that you channel these resources into science so as to fatten up basic research.

N. Chaplina: Would they not like to fatten up our schools at the same time?

M. Gorbachev: I think that this, of course, is our concern. Everyone is worried what our schools will be like. I am sure that the education, culture, and information programs—all these things must be together. And the majority of the republics are not against that. At the State Council session yesterday everyone spoke in support of science: On no account divide it up but pool resources and provide money. They agreed to sign an accord on science. There should also be one on public education; otherwise how can you merge the market and the economic space?

A. Druzenko: Surely space is the biggest vogue word today.

N. Chaplina: Economic, democratic.

A. Druzenko: Once people used to use the word country, now it is the vaguer word space. Soon they will be saying: I am ashamed of my space.

M. Gorbachev: One of the main consequences of the putsch was that the signing of the Union treaty was wrecked and whereas before the republics agreed to the name, for example, the federal democratic Union, now it is no longer a matter of definitions—of the democratic federal union state type. Now it is just the "union"—and that is all.

V. Fronin: But the republics are all different.

M. Gorbachev: Yes, they are different but the solution is the same. Without consensus nothing can be done now. But consensus on the path of changes, not in spite of changes.

Ye. Yakovlev: Mikhail Sergeyevich, are you not alarmed at the discord that has occurred in the democratic movement? Democratic Russia wants one thing, Travkin wants something else.

L. Karpinskiy: Normal parties have to develop. Only then will we have a normal representative system. But at the moment everything is happening in fits and starts.

M. Gorbachev: I am always interested to see how politicians of different tendencies abroad get on with one another. How they conduct themselves. They resolve problems at the same table. They have a normal discussion there, you understand, normal. But in our country it is impossible for different people to sit at the same table.

Ye. Yakovlev: In that sense, I think, the Movement for Democratic Reforms has great prospects.

M. Gorbachev: When Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev described the plan I immediately advised them this should be a movement and not a party.

I. Golembiovskiy: There is another serious and, in my view, radical question. We have still not created the conditions for operation of foreign capital in our country. We will achieve nothing without progressive technologies. Thus capital must have the right to operate and must find it advantageous to do so.

M. Gorbachev: But if it is launched in one fell swoop, then given our financial situation and the state of money circulation we would be bought up lock, stock, and barrel.

I. Golembiovskiy: Of course it is necessary to preserve the base sectors, including the press, by the way. But an ordinary plant? Let them buy it, improve the technology, produce goods, it will give people jobs and a social infrastructure.

M. Gorbachev: Yes, but they will earn rubles in our country, what will they do with them? It is necessary to move more quickly toward ruble convertibility. The vice president of McDonald's approached me and said: "We have earned 180 million rubles [R] in your country. Give me the opportunity to at least buy something here that I could sell back home and with part of the proceeds bring you a new batch of equipment. But I do not need rubles." That is the problem. The central one. The ruble must be made to work.

N. Chaplina: But do you think it can be resolved? What is the timetable?

M. Gorbachev: I think that if we took our courage in our hands now and embarked on unpopular measures, as they say,—the people, it seems, still understand at the moment—we could "link" the finances and all the rest to

stabilization funds and then the problem of ruble convertibility would be resolved. Without radical steps, all the rest is useless.

A. Druzenko: Do you not feel that after the August events an atmosphere of radicalism has arisen psychologically in society but there is a danger that all the enthusiasm will be channeled into politics and not the economy? But it seems to me that it is economic radicalism that we need.

M. Gorbachev: It seems to me that not everyone sees how difficult it is to conduct policy today. Yegor Vladimirovich, I think, really understood that on the eve of the extraordinary congress. Although what happened at the congress was just the tip of the iceberg.

L. Karpinskiy: Quite a big tip, by the way.

M. Gorbachev: Now, for example, some people are saying that the putsch was staged by Gorbachev or Yeltsin.

Rejoinder: We have been asked this question: "Did Gorbachev not invent all this to settle scores with the right?"

L. Karpinskiy: A brilliant invention.

M. Gorbachev: Unfortunately I cannot claim the credit for this. Although I have to tell you bluntly: Was a microscope or a telescope really necessary to see how and in what direction processes were going in our country from the beginning of perestroyka? This had burst through to the surface! Especially recently. Remember what plenums turned into! Like the April plenum when 32 of the 72 Russian party oblast committee secretaries signed a letter saying: "Down with the General Secretary!"

V. Ignatenko: But how did the "guests" get onto the balcony? No one knows how these people got to the plenum at all.

A. Druzenko: Even so, Mikhail Sergeyevich, on the subject of the economy. You are in contact with Kravchuk and Nazarbayev, what feeling do you get—do they realize that there are millions of people behind them who need to be fed, clothed, and shod. Or is politics paramount?

M. Gorbachev: You know that after the State Council session, one comrade, I am not going to name him, said to Yeltsin: "Boris Nikolayevich, there is no center any more." And he agreed: Yes, that center is no more. But there is a president, he is with us, the rest are in the republics, we must decide, we must answer. Indeed, take the light and food industry, they have been in the possession of the republics for three years now, the agro-industrial complex is there, construction is there, timber, construction materials—they are all there! What is there in the center? The army, fundamental research—and it is hard for us to find the resources for them—and that is all there is. But the newspapers continue to berate the president.

N. Bodnaruk: How do you feel today when the principles of free speech are asserted in the press but not those of glasnost?

M. Gorbachev: Fine. It may not be very comfortable but it is natural, primarily for society.

A. Druzenko: In spring I was in Poland, there is much that is complex and interesting there today, but I noticed one detail: They are criticizing the well-known former electrician from Gdansk now. You cannot even imagine how brutally. But as they say in boxing, he is taking the punches well. He simply does not notice most of them.

M. Gorbachev: Well, I do not think that he could have dreamed of the criticism that has befallen me. But I shall continue with my idea. There is no center in the conventional sense. But there is the threat of the appearance of 15 centers. And I, to be honest, do not know which is more alarming. The old center—yes, it caused harm but it was far away. But these new ones—they are right next door, they may have even more opportunities to take people by the throat. We are debating reforms in the economy. I am talking about the market and I have in mind the freedom of its main subject—the producer. Others are also talking about the market but they put the property of the republics first. Whereas the scientists say: What has property got to do with? General Motors operates throughout the world, is that some kind of territorial property? The state, the republic, the region, their business is to raise taxes and create the conditions enabling enterprises and producers to grow as much as possible.

Ye. Yakovlev: Mikhail Sergeyevich, is there a way of influencing Gamsakhurdia?

M. Gorbachev: I have simply distanced myself from that man. At the request of the Georgians themselves. I have long-standing contacts there, a host of people with whom I have retained good relations. At the extraordinary Congress I approached the Georgian delegation and asked: "What shall we do?" They replied: "This time we must sort everything out ourselves, not with you."

N. Chaplina: Are you not terrified of these border disputes? The conflict in the Dnestr region? Nagorno-Karabakh.

M. Gorbachev: At the State Council yesterday we talked a long time about this. Particularly about Armenia and Azerbaijan. We agreed that Yeltsin and Nazarbayev will go there. In my opinion, Ter-Pterosyan and Mutalibov need someone else to show up.

V. Fronin: Is there a Moldovan solution?

M. Gorbachev: I have talked with Snegur a number of times. I am sure that for Moldova breaking with the Union is no solution.

N. Chaplina: But the territorial disputes must be resolved somehow.

M. Gorbachev: Only by means of talks.

A. Potapov: The main thing now is that people have hope of finding a clear path.

M. Gorbachev: As for me, I have nothing to lose any more. I am ready to shoulder the burden of the most unpopular decisions. If only to get over this.

L. Karpinskiy: I want to say: Do not be afraid of so-called private property, Mikhail Sergeyevich. I have been wanting to talk to you about this for five years now (laughter). All property is private; otherwise, it is not property. But we turn everything into another platitude: if it is private it is parasitical.

M. Gorbachev: Well, Marx has a formula: "overcoming private property." Not eliminating it, but overcoming it.

Ye. Yakovlev: Well, finally it is time to talk about Marxism.

L. Karpinskiy: You understand what is going on. If the state and law enforcement organs have a structurally inherent hatred of private property.

M. Gorbachev: That is understandable. He who loses ownership loses power.

A. Druzenko: I would like to talk about power. Today KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA printed a brief comment. A six-day vacation in a former CPSU Central Committee sanatorium now costs R2,000. A tourist agency has received 10 travel permits. Two have already been sold. To whom?

V. Fronin: To ordinary Soviet cooperative members.

A. Druzenko: What does someone think about when he learns that? He thinks about those to whom power is passing.

M. Gorbachev: I read in a newspaper about a ring costing R1 million. Apparently it is on sale in Arbat Street.

L. Karpinskiy: The inconvertibility of the ruble creates two classes. The millions, the majority do not earn much and it is worthless money, furthermore. But the minority have foreign currency in addition to a large amount of worthless rubles. This is a colossal social problem.

N. Chaplina: How long do you think the so-called transitional period will last?

M. Gorbachev: What did they say at the congress? I think that first there will be the treaty and then they will begin forming new structures on the basis of that treaty. The idea has even occurred to me (and I have been criticized for this already) of agreeing to sign the treaty only with those who want to do so now. Immediately. And then hold direct elections to the presidency. So that there will be a political figure who has earned people's trust even before the formation f all the rest.

V. Zakharko: Tell us please how information reaches you now, after Boldin, and in what quantity? What are its sources?

M. Gorbachev: The main information, and this will surprise you, comes from the newspapers.

V. Zakharko: What else?

M. Gorbachev: There is diplomatic information, of course. Generally speaking, the president's mail consists of up to 50,000 letters a month. And of course there used to be a mighty torrent of information from the state security.

A. Druzenko: In the past KGB workers used to come to our mail department and take away "specific" mail. Also "as a point of information."

M. Gorbachev: There is regular information from abroad. Not only from diplomats and the intelligence service.

I. Golembiovskiy: I used to watch the way that some foreign correspondents worked. One came up to me and asked: Do you have the calling cards of the people with whom you have met in the past 2 weeks?" He took them, wrote down the names and then probably put them in his reports.

M. Gorbachev: There was a lot of disrespect, I realized that long ago.

V. Zakharko: This very day Rubanov, the new chief of the KGB analytical administration came to our editorial office and gave an interview. Judging by his stance, the information that you will receive from that administration will be reliable.

M. Gorbachev: But if I had blind faith in all the information that I receive.

I. Golembiovskiy: If it is no secret, Mikhail Sergeyevich, who is going to be director of your press service?

M. Gorbachev: I have a candidate. You probably know him.

Ye. Yakovlev: Have you already met with him about this?

M. Gorbachev: Yes, we have met. Intellectually he is close to me. But unfortunately he does not especially want the job at the moment. And, as you know, the more I respect someone the harder it is for me to go against his will.

I. Golembiovskiy: By the way, I talked recently with Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev. I asked in what capacity he was working for you. He was embarrassed to answer. I said to him: "If you leave, if the others leave who will be left with the president then?" In my view, it

is very important, especially in the present situation, that there are such people in your entourage.

M. Gorbachev: Yesterday we agreed, and I have informed the State Council of these plans, to create a presidential consultative-political council.

Ye. Yakovlev: It must not just be called the Presidential Council.

M. Gorbachev: Agreed. It must work on the principles of comradely trust, respect for other opinions, and frankness.

I. Golembiovskiy: You should not listen so much to Yegor Vladimirovich alone. He will make you work on television as a political commentator. Like Popov.

M. Gorbachev: Well, when Yeltsin and I addressed America on television, he said to me: You are speaking to America but you do not want to speak to your own country.

A. Druzenko: When Popov stated that he is also going to be a television political commentator, we played a lighthearted game in which we imagined what television programs might be like if things went on that way, such as "Good Evening, Moscow" with political commentator Popov in the chair, "International panorama," chaired by political commentator Gorbachev, and "Travel movie club" with political commentator Yeltsin.

M. Gorbachev: And Yegor Vladimirovich just sits there and presses the buttons (laughter).

Ye. Yakovlev: But this is no joke. Shevardnadze and Yakovlev have already agreed.

M. Gorbachev: You mentioned some names and I thought that I will never repudiate what I did with Yakovlev and Shevardnadze, how we began. I remember in Zavidovo, we were writing a report then, we quarrelled—we did not meet again for a day and a half. What was the argument about? About a formula, about the fact that we are living in a dependent, contradictory, but in the main integral world. But is that all? You could not move gradually toward the new thinking, it required a breakthrough. Therefore, when I hear or read the words "the Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev gang" I agree with just one thing, the fact that our names are placed together. But as for the word "gang"—that will remain on the conscience of those who speak or write that way. For example, Nina Andreyeva, who it seems has expelled me from the party as a traitor.

L. Karpinskiy: That fact could be mentioned in your autobiography as commendation.

M. Gorbachev: But all this is us! Do you understand? Nina Andreyeva—also us!

N. Bodnaruk: On the one hand IZVESTIYA was right when it wrote that you returned from Foros to a different country. But essentially the country is—at the moment—the same.

M. Gorbachev: You must not disregard the fact that, according to the polls, 40 percent of the people questioned supported the putschists' program. The people's state is like this: You think, let them violate the constitution so long as they establish order!

V. Fronin: We get many letters in our mail bag. They call the putschists Decembrists and demand that there be no death sentences.

Rejoinder: No way! Otherwise this will rebound.

A. Druzenko: Forty percent supported them—despite the incomprehensibility of the program.

L. Karpinskiy: You cannot link support for some provisions of the program to support for the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] itself.

V. Ignatenko: They all memorized 15 percent

M. Gorbachev: I have a question for "Peak Time." Where did you get the material on the marines? I said to Shaposhnikov at that time: Find this newspaper, read it. We did. We called Admiral Khronopulo. It was all corroborated.

N. Chaplina: He saw you on 19 August on the beach. Alive and well. He was informed about this. He should have told the country about it. He did not.

M. Gorbachev: But previously during meetings he was always said: "Comrade President, we will obey your every instruction!"

Ye. Yakovlev: Did you sense that a plot was being hatched?

M. Gorbachev: Generally speaking, yes.

Ye. Yakovlev: Who, in your opinion, was the mainspring?

M. Gorbachev: In my view, Kryuchkov.

Ye. Yakovlev: And Lukyanov?

M. Gorbachev: At the very outset Baklanov called Lukyanov a member of the SCSE but then they probably decided to leave him out of the picture—for greater legitimacy. He would have persuaded the congress to reelect the president. The Supreme Soviet would not have done that but the Congress would have, I think.

V. Ignatenko: Much is now becoming clear. TASS, for example, has three centers. One is in Nikitskiye, in the agency's building, the second is by the station, the third is in the country near Moscow. If they had wanted to, no SCSE could have stopped the transmitting information.

Ye. Yakovlev: My son says: "To hell with the SCSE [nigekasebechepe]."

M. Gorbachev: Some amazing things have happened. They had already happened in Foros. Lukyanov and Ivashko were in one room, but these people were in another, my men already had them under guard. Suddenly they informed me: "People in camouflage dress are approaching the dacha!" My guard telephoned the people outside our estate: "Who is approaching? Let them make a few more movements and we will fire." The reply came: "Who is approaching? Who is this about?" My men insisted: "Send them back. Back where they came from!" Then another report. "They are approaching. In the opposite direction."

N. Chaplina: You said that there are details in the Foros story that you will never talk about. Day by day are these details becoming fewer and fewer?

M. Gorbachev: Heaven forbid if I tell all that I know.

V. Zakharko: About Medvedev, for instance. He was always behind you. Now they are saying that he has become victim of the lack of information, the leadership ordered him to fly to Moscow.

M. Gorbachev: I do not accuse him. The system, of course, was organized that way. The guard is subordinate to the KGB—its orders were carried out. But the fact that he told me that he was flying off. Incidentally, we have scrapped this now. We have created a protection service for the presidents of the country and Russia and subordinated it to the presidents. But the Foros details? There are many of them, that is true. Take the first telephone conversations from Foros. When on my insistence communication was allowed there came a report: "Kryuchkov wants to talk with you." I refused and immediately asked for Yeltsin, Nazarbayev, and Kravchuk. Boris Nikolayevich was very happy. But apparently the telephonist had been instructed to make only one connection. Two officers stood behind her. She did as I asked. She contacted them all, one after the other. But the officers must have understood but did not intervene.

N. Bodnaruk: It is common knowledge that the Russian tsars and after them the first secretaries lived in fear of a possible coup. What about you? Did you think that such a thing might ever happen to you?

M. Gorbachev: Of course I realized that. Reactionary forces were bound to form given the state of the KGB, the force of the military-industrial complex, and given the course that was adopted. My task was to implement the reforms as far as possible and bring society to the condition where they had less and less chance of success.

L. Karpinskiy: Had the reforms been more determined their forces would have evaporated by themselves.

I. Golembiovskiy: What you are now saying, even to us professionals, shows you in a quite different light and inspires certain feelings toward you as a man. But people are also saying something else: This putsch was not all that terrible for the president.

M. Gorbachev: Those who understand politics can see: They foundered on the president. On the first day they understood that nothing would come of it.

I. Golembiovskiy: Do not take it as a compliment but we know when other people in similar situations would have agreed to anything.

M. Gorbachev: The most difficult thing for me was to make a decision. I paced the room and I thought. Not about myself but about my family, my granddaughters . Then I decided: in my situation your own skin does not matter, if you will pardon the expression. When they were leaving Baklanov held out his hand to Raisa Maksimovna. She did not accept it. With her woman's intuition she understood. Then things were easier. The guards stayed with me. We were already thinking about other things: Not to yield to provocation so that they could not then say that the president died in crossfire. Or something else of that kind. When we heard on the 21st that the putschists were flying down to see us we decided that the worst was about to happen. Raisa Maksimovna said: "This is it. They are going to make Yanayev's statement fit us." As I learned later, Kryuchkov said: We shall see what condition the president is in.

V. Ignatenko: Then on the 21st he said to Primakov: "You cannot imagine what a grave condition the president is in." They could have turned you into a "zombie." A well-known university psychiatrist warned: One injection and that will be it and you do not know what is happening. For 40 minutes you know nothing and then everything is all right. That was what they did with General Grigorenko then. An international commission was coming but he had those same "40 minutes."

M. Gorbachev: Anatoliy, my son-in-law, arrived and said: "They are in the plane." The Raisa Maksimovna lost the power of speech and her arm went limp. The main thing was that we were all together. She could not have survived alone.

N. Chaplina: Is is true that she is your guardian angel?

M. Gorbachev: She is a woman with a lively imagination. Len Karpinskiy must remember her, Raya Titarenko from the philosophy department. There were three of us: Me, Yura Levada, and Merab Mamardashvili. In the hostel we visited the same room most often. Our future wives were there. She is a person capable not only of experiencing but of analyzing, too. When they asked me, do you discuss questions with your wife, and if so which ones, I said "All questions," which seems to have impressed many people. I only recently learned that last year she was writing notes for a book. And that last year she wrote in her notebook my phrase: "Terrible times. Power must not be surrendered either to the conservatives or to the "populists' [nayezdnik]." And her reaction to what happened in winter and spring this

year: "Will we really go and nothing will remain of our family?" Then she finally made up her mind to write the book.

N. Bodnaruk: Pardon my perhaps unduly blunt question but do you think that during the trial they might try to pin some compromising material on you?

M. Gorbachev: I do not rule that out. I think that they will try to turn the criminal trial into a political one. They have sufficient wit for that. But that is not the most important thing now. The main thing is to avoid two forms of reaction to what is happening in the country. On the one hand, indifference—to hell with it, as they say. On the other, as you know, when everything is swept away. But the most important thing, it seems to me, is that people should see the results of the changes, albeit only small results, every day.

Rejoinder: The feeling is that the continuation of the Editors' club meeting over a cup of tea has been a success.

M. Gorbachev: This surely was not a flop. We have achieved something here. I thank you all.

Gorbachev Decrees Remove Officials From Posts

MVD, KGB Officials Replaced

LD2109224491 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—The Soviet president today appointed Lieutenant-General Vasiliy Savvin commander of the USSR Interior Ministry [MVD] troops. He relieved Yuriy Shatalin of his duties as commander of the troops.

The president relieved Lieutenant-General Leonid Shebarshin of his duties as the KGB deputy chairman and chief of the KGB's First Chief Administration.

The decrees on these moves were signed today.

Deputy Defense Minister Fired

LD2109200191 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Moscow September 21 TASS—President Gorbachev has issued a decree forming the committee for preparing and carrying out a military reform. [passage omitted]

Another decree of the Soviet president relieved Colonel General Vladislav Achalov of the duties of a USSR deputy defence minister.

Bakatin Says KGB Cadres Must Be 'Shaken Up'

LD2009170191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2108 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Interview with KGB chief Vladimir Bakatin by Bella Kurkova from the "Fifth Wheel" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Kurkova] I don't have to introduce Vladimir Viktorovich Bakatin, but this is what it is customary for us to start with, in a new capacity, in a new cabinet. Vladimir Viktorovich, do you remember our conversation in the October Hotel when there was that "Perestroyka Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" conference? I asked you a question then about 28 March; that was the day when troops were brought in, and you then said to me—to the question of how that could have happened and how you assessed it—that this was great stupidity. Do you think the same today, or do you think today this was not only stupidity?

[Bakatin] That was a question of the Russian congress, wasn't it? And there was a request from a group of comrades. Well, I remember it. Of course it was stupidity. [video shows riot police in helmets with truncheons and shields forcing back a crowd in a dark street, then cuts back to studio]

I admit it already. You can register the fact that I confess that I—and I have said this on more than one occasion, wrote, spoke, and am now still willing to confirm—that I, basically, made a mistake; because I said everywhere that in our country a coup is impossible, that this won't happen. We are not some small country where this is possible. I considered this was impossible. And therefore, proceeding from this, I considered that if this were not possible, then intelligent people would never embark on this. That is what I considered. Therefore, there was an awful surprise and perplexity for me. To some extent, I started to reexamine myself. So, it transpires that I simply was badly acquainted with the situation when I heard about everything on the 19th [of August]. Therefore, I had to reexamine all those opinions of mine.

[Kurkova] Why did you have to come here? Why you of all people?

[Bakatin] But someone had to come here. Perhaps it didn't have to be me, but it had to be someone. Why should I without fail again ... of course, you can say to me that I am always lucky, I always get involved in some kind of escapade [istoriyu]. Either I got into the Ministry of Internal Affairs by accident, or, let's say, a presidential candidate, or somewhere else. Why do I need it? I consider that of all the areas where I have worked, this is the most complex and most difficult area here. To try, nonetheless, to reform the KGB and at the same time to make this process occur—so to speak, to some extent—painlessly. This is very hard work. I don't know why I needed it. I was charged with it by all the presidents of those nine republics, and I accepted it.

[Kurkova] What, did you accept immediately, or...

[Bakatin, interupts] It happened spontaneously. I have already talked about this. It was totally spontaneous.

[Kurkova] Improvisation?

[Bakatin] The post-coup period—you know what happened—here everything was breaking, everything was changing, everything was twisted. There was nothing, it was paralyzed and demoralized here. No one knew who was guilty, what else would happen. So, they said we immediately decided to propose you.

I said: If you all support me. I asked everyone and Boris Nikolayevich last, and he said that yes, we will support you. And I must say that he has kept his word, I feel it every day, honestly, and it is not just that I wish to take this opportunity to pay some sort of compliment to him.

[Kurkova] You are married. When you came with this news, did your wife faint?

[Bakatin] Perhaps not everyone realizes this, but it is, in fact, dangerous work. So what wife would be glad to learn that her husband has a dangerous job? So, there was no great rejoicing. And, from the point of view of material benefits of one kind or another, I got nothing extra out of it. Well, I do not, of course, think that my wife is that sort of person; she is not interested in these questions. She is more interested in me, naturally, and naturally she understood this and, to put it mildly, she did not particularly like it. After all, no one can say, as yet, that democracy has indeed gained the upper hand as a result of this—how shall we put it—this adventurist putsch. After all, nothing has ended yet, and everything is only just beginning; because, well, thank God it has now become clear to us that we shall no longer vacillate between, say, left wingers and right wingers, between the market and no market, between democracy and some sort of regime that would tighten the screws. We will now be proceeding toward where we must be going—a civilized society.

There is a very great deal of work to be done. This applies, above all, to economic management. I am again, if you like, jumping from one subject to another; but it is the foundation. Because even if you have two KGB organizations, or even three, and even if they are super-democratic and super-professional, monitoring all the processes very attentively, nevertheless nothing will come of it as long as the economy does not begin to be put right. Nothing will come of it as long as people do not feel an improvement, deep within themselves, as it were, or—if you will pardon the expression—in their purses or kitchens, for as long as they do not feel that it is indeed beginning to yield some benefits for them. On the other hand, however, it is necessary to explain that it can not happen quickly, and this explanation must be perfectly clear, precise, and understandable.

[Kurkova] Whether you like it or not, as a government member you will, nevertheless, have to spend most of your time here, since you intend to get down to reforming these bodies. Is that not right? This means, then, that for the time being they occupy a rather important position within our society's structure. It may well be that things will change later, but that will be later. You yourself say that it is the beginning of the road. Well, for some reason I have not yet asked you: Why is it that, when you returned, without thinking, to the KGB, you came here without a team of your own? After all, it is a risky venture. Because when a person has to tackle any sort of serious matter, and this matter is more serious than most, because everyone knows that it is an empire—you know that is what people call it—so you arrived here without a team; without, as far as I can understand, a professional team of your own. It would have been another matter, had you come from the Russian KGB, or, I do not know, the Moscow KGB.

Well, I do not know, if you came from somewhere, well, from somewhere in general. But you came on your own, well, surely accompanied by some assistants of yours.

[Bakatin] Accompanied by a very limited circle of people, but what can you do?

[Kurkova] What are you counting on?

[Bakatin] I count on being able to create a team with its own identity, and I am already doing that, that is the first thing. In the second place, I nevertheless think that a healthy nucleus is to be found here; that it nevertheless exists. Just because someone works, well, under, so to speak, the auspices of this organization, you can not regard everyone as...

[Kurkova, interrupts] No, that is understandable.

[Bakatin] There are many here, and after all I am currently beginning to recruit this team mainly from the KGB—from here, not from the outside. There will, of course, be people from outside. There will be several people from outside, for they are needed; and I mean I already know a little bit about who is needed. But mainly these will be people... cadres must be very seriously shaken up. There is a very great stagnation of the cadres here, and they have already become well in with the powers that be, and have already been too long in their generals' posts; and it is necessary to have a very robust shakeup and rejuvenation of these cadres.

Well, no matter who takes over here, for it is not just me, anyone would have had to do it. I, too, intend to do this. True, I am currently coming up against some elements—well, I do not want to label them as, say, some sort of an opposition—but I simply feel that such demands had not previously been made, ever, and many apparatus workers or officials from this retinue of mine, a sort of immediate, administrative retinue, as it were, they have simply not been accustomed to fast work. They do not know the sense of the tasks it is their duty to explain; they go away only to come back with documents that are not always literate. No matter how strange this is—unfortunately information has been organized very

poorly. I do not know whether that is unfortunate or fortunate, but there are times when information through our mass media is more precise and credible than the information that lands on my desk, which at times is very impoverished.

In the second place the legal service here is very weak, very weak. Hence—well, I have already begun to talk about particular issues—this team will be in place. People who want to work here and who understand that you cannot work in this way, people precisely from within the KGB; they will be here. And then the KGB will undergo an altogether great change.

You know, you say it is a terrible department and it played a big part in our society as a part of the structure. This was at a time when we had one ideology, at a time when we did not permit dissidence, and at a time when this political surveillance existed. In view of this role, as it were, within the system in which we all lived earlier, it was the KGB that had to deal with it. Now this does not exist, and now there is no point for the KGB to deal with it.

[Kurkova] How come it does not exist? Up until the most recent time it did exist.

[Bakatin] What is it you are trying to say, that this department will remain the way it has always been? In that case, there is simply nothing for us to do here.

[Kurkova] No, no. I am talking about what used to be the case. And you are shouldering a moral burden, whether you like it or not, taking upon yourself the burden of what used to take place in the 1930s and 1940s, and over the most recent years. Whether you like it or not, it does exist among the people. Well, what do you intend to do to remove this burden from the people who currently work in these buildings throughout Russia and throughout the country?

[Bakatin] Can I ask you a question?

[Kurkova] Yes.

[Bakatin] And how do you think that can be done by me, just by myself?

[Kurkova] Well, you know, I would not agree to work for the KGB.

[Bakatin] You would not agree in order not to take this burden upon yourself, yes?

[Kurkova] No. You know, I am not one of those who fears responsibility, and I have become accustomed always to take responsibility for myself in any situation; but this is an altogether different kind of responsibility. It is a very manly responsibility, but, on the other hand, a moral situation. I've met a huge number of people who lost many of their dear ones and whose lives were broken, destroyed, and trampled underfoot; and it is still so today. People who live side by side with us here. And you cannot obliterate that from the present—never mind history—you cannot obliterate that from the present time; their human dignity was not given back to them, and normal material conditions were not returned to them. You understand?

[Bakatin] It is, first and foremost, the state rather than the new KGB chairman that is responsible for this...

[Kurkova, interrupts] No, no.

[Bakatin] And I do not even want to say this about me, having taken this burden upon myself. I do not think that either myself or even some other young employee who had no part in any of that—I do not think he bears responsibility for the crimes of, say, 1937. If we continue this train of thought, it will mean that I have now indeed become ... well, my grandfather would surely turn in his grave, if he has one—and he does not have a grave, because it is not known where he is buried, right? He was executed in 1937, and it now transpires that I am responsible for this matter—well, I think that is a somewhat strange way of putting the issue. To the contrary, that is what I would think—and there are examples here, we had a conversation today with a representative of the Lithuanian Government. It is simply that one has to ponder whether we now have to exact any sort of revenge or engage in settling old scores. And who needs that?

[Kurkova] Under no circumstances.

[Bakatin] And if we now start settling accounts and dock someone's pension or regard someone else as a criminal just because he served in this organization, we will then have no peace, no democracy whatsoever, and no prosperity at all. We would sink to be a kind of society that I would not like to see. You are at times cautious. I, too, want to show caution here and refrain from stating what it will be.

[Kurkova] You have been in this job for only a short time. What struck you most of all—both in the good and bad sense—when you arrived here, simply on a human level?

[Bakatin] I was struck by the very poor standard of information, very poor. Each central directorate, each department is sitting on its information, and there is no synthesis of information at all. This is no good at all; this is just outrageous. Because the strength of this KGB lies in information coming to one center from various sources, to extract out of this information as much juice—so to speak—as possible, which is necessary today, say, for the supreme leadership of the country, of the republics, among others. By the way, we must work for all republics today, not only for the Union.

All this is lacking. There is some prejudiced, very one-sided information with a definite bias. This was still going on, incidentally. They have simply cut it down now. I simply told them: This is not required. Why waste paper and cram the brains of our statesmen? They have plenty to think about without our using the top secret

seal to send gists [vyzhimki] from newspapers—which, strictly speaking, one can read anywhere.

[Kurkova] Their press secretaries could do this.

[Bakatin] Yes, there is no question. For instance, this struck me very forcefully; I believe that I have already spoken about his, too. The law service, the juridical service—they have simply not yet come to light, or I have not yet acquainted myself properly with all of them. So far I am dissatisfied. I thought that the level was considerably higher here.

[Kurkova] Vadim Viktorovich, let's say, since when you worked on the president's team—on the whole, you held fairly high posts—it cannot be said that you were taking a back seat.

[Bakatin] Of course not.

[Kurkova] Yes. So, were you really not familiar with the information...

[Bakatin, interrupts] I was familiar with it. Why unfamiliar?

[Kurkova] ... which arrived here and which, on the whole, you understood fairly often to be not information but disinformation?

[Bakatin] You shouldn't call it disinformation. You see, it is possible, let's say, relatively speaking, to report all the time from Lithuania—as previously this was done—to report that people passionately hate this government and wish to be united with the Soviet Union, etc. And this is the truth, because part of the people indeed wanted this. That is why only these people and that information voiced somewhere at some collective farm or in some party organization is taken and sent here; while another part—considerably more information—is simply hushed up. There is no untruth there; it is all the truth, but not the whole truth. And that is why everything is being distorted.

Such methods I observed, for instance, in the work both of the president's team or in the presidential structures, and even when I worked at the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry. And I remember, by the way, that we had such instances, and not just one, when President—or then Supreme Soviet Chairman—Gorbachev spotted the difference in information supplied by the Internal Affairs Ministry and that supplied by the KGB. We sometimes had such checks and squabbles. Not so much squabbles as... [changes thought] I believe that the Internal Affairs Ministry supplied even more reliable information than the KGB for some internal events.

[Kurkova] And that is why you were dismissed as internal affairs minister?

[Bakatin] Well, most likely, and I was indeed dismissed because I was, to a certain extent I had, after all, my own opinion, and I was not very obedient to, well, to those.... Well, in particular, today I know that the KGB, too—well, not the KGB, probably this is too...

[Kurkova, interrupts] But the leadership.

[Bakatin] But the leadership of the Committee and Kryuchkov, in particular, took a hand in supplying such information about me that I was found to be superfluous. That is why I was removed. There were more obedient, complaisant people.

[Kurkova] What guarantees are there that the very same thing will not happen to you here? After all, you are a bit of a rebel, as far as I understand.

[Bakatin] [Words indistinct]

[Kurkova] Yes. Will it not happen that your recalcitrance and your information—the degree of its reliability—that they will prove in some situation unacceptable, well, to the country's president, for instance, to the presidents of the republics?

[Bakatin] Well, yes. But, first, you have probably observed that an extraordinary congress has taken place?

[Kurkova] What about it?

[Bakatin] Yes, the congress. Well, what about it? That is very well done, of course. It is important that "well, what about it?" should not occur. It is important that the decisions of this congress should start to be implemented, so that in the final analysis today...

[Kurkova, interrupts] Do you really think this congress has been so brilliant?

[Bakatin] Not exactly brilliant, but I believe it has done what it could do. And everything, on the whole, even though there were [changes thought] on the whole, seeing what difficulties there were, we won't be too captious about violations of the regulations there. I do not regard myself as some rebel. Why should I be a rebel? I am not. I am on the whole a law-abiding and disciplined person. And I carry out what I have to carry out.

[Kurkova] After everything that happened in the middle of August, has it become easier for you to work with two such, well, main figures perhaps...

[Bakatin, interrupts] Easier.

[Kurkova] ...both with Gorbachev and Yeltsin? Have they changed ...

[Bakatin, interrupts] Yes!

[Kurkova] From your point of view? How?

[Bakatin] There probably is some very serious basis for your question from the specific point of view of some kind of human, internal transformations. Probably, yes. And Gorbachev, after that personal tragedy, to put it bluntly, after the collapse of certain of his... well, he was the victim of his trusting nature, victim of the fact that he had selected cadres and believed in them. And in the

end he received that betrayal. I do not think any person can fail to change somehow, inside. Of course, he has changed. Of course, he felt it very keenly, and he is different now. You are right about that. That's as far as he is concerned. As for Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, I feel that if, it is awkward for us...

[Kurkova, interrupts] It isn't normal.

[Bakatin] ...to try to analyze him before the whole world.

[Kurkova] But now we can build trust.

[Bakatin] I feel that since he became president of Russia, particularly, he has changed and grown perceptibly. He has also become different, because I think this trust does not pass a person by without leaving a trace. If he is an honorable man and does not think more about himself, but truly thinks—and I believe in this—about the destiny of Russia and of its peoples, of course that raises him up and forces him to change. And he has changed. He has become a more outstanding, more reliable, and more thoughtful state figure than ... well, I think, than he was before—when he did not have the burden of responsibility that he bears now. It is one thing to be in opposition, to be a fierce propagandist and critic, and so on; that is one thing. But to bear that burden of responsibility is another matter. It also changes a person. But it would be better for you to have a talk with them, and they will be able themselves to speak on this subject.

[Kurkova] I have spoken to Boris Nikolayevich about this subject on several occasions, but it is clearer from an outsider.

[Bakatin] But what I say is right.

[Kurkova] I think it is. I cannot speak about Gorbachev, because I do not come from that team, as they say, but simply from the Russian team.

[Bakatin] Of course, you sometimes have a somewhat biased attitude toward Gorbachev, with some sort of desire, some kind of distrust. That is sometimes noticeable when some reportage or other begins, and sometimes you stretch Sobchak to fit your ideas, so to think that, well, Gorbachev is also a human being, you understand; he is also a living person; he also has nerves. He also comes under pressure from one quarter. He came under very strong pressure, say, from party comrades, making demands, saying that he was the general secretary and a member of that same Politburo, so how could he let everything pass him by and not react to anything at all; he ought to be sensitive to everything. Therefore, there was that influence, the Baltics were putting pressure on him, as were others. So, of course, he was subjected to some sort of influence and pressure, and he reacted as a human being in that case, sometimes committing errors.

[Kurkova] Please, say why you, in spite of everything—after all, Gorbachev betrayed you in a certain way, from my human point of view, for I am probably an uncompromising person. It was a whole system of betrayals, small ones, but still betrayals. So why do you...

[Bakatin, interrupts] What is it? Do you mean the ministerial dismissal?

[Kurkova] Yes, I do. That was a betrayal.

[Bakatin] No, let me tell you about it. With him as a state figure and me as a representative of the government, a minister, I agree that he made a concession in that case and removed me. That is right, as a state figure. But as a person, as you and I are sitting here, he called me in and said—incidentally, I had myself gone in to see him several times and said that I was going—but he told me: No, you must not; wait, do not get excited.

After 7 November—or when was it, 5 November, when there was a clash over those demonstrations—I told him myself: That is it; I am going; I will not ban these demonstrations in Moscow.

We had an altercation, you see. Then, all the same, he said to me, man to man: You must understand that I need this.

Incidentally, I also said, man to man: Mikhail Sergeyevich, I do not think the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry is my private estate, that I have sat down in this chair and will not be driven out even at gunpoint. At the end of the day, you are the president. What is it all about? You put me here, you beckoned me here from Siberia, told me to come here. I was living in Kemerovo, where I had none of those problems.

[Kurkova] But Moscow is better.

[Bakatin] No way is it better, let me tell you. Life is better on the periphery, believe me. People are human there. You can live there, but you cannot live here. You can live properly there, but here all you have is service and no friends or anybody. But there you have life, childhood, everything, the whole of life; I have lived there. There you have life, but here it is not life. Therefore, I did not consider for myself, say, some kind of [word indistinct] as do some who cling to it and start all manner of intrigues to get there, attach themselves to people. I did not get involved in that.

So, he said to me, man to man: Nothing has finished yet; I will leave you in these structures, if you....

We talked about the policy that he considered necessary to pursue, and it coincided with mine. I know that we had a great influence, but he was forced to engage in that maneuvering. So I do not consider that he betrayed me. I cannot say that.

[Kurkova] But then you were completely out of work.

[Bakatin] Why out of work? It was simply three months.

[Kurkova] It was ridiculous work, not work at all.

[Bakatin] Remember what period it was. You must understand.

[Kurkova] It was some kind of fig leaf.

[Bakatin] Correct. Indeed, there was first the Presidential Council, then the Security Council, that was all...

[Kurkova, interrupts] You did not do anything there. Weren't you ashamed to draw your salary?

[Bakatin] No, I was not, because, all the same, I arrived at eight o'clock, and I looked for work for myself. I had work.

[Kurkova] You looked for it; but your work was not needed.

[Bakatin] What do you mean it was not needed? For example, I dealt with increasing vodka production. Is that not needed? Of course it is needed. The Presidential Council did not get going. Then there was 17 or 18 November—you remember, the report on the situation in the country on the 17th. The report did not evoke any passions. You do remember, do you not?

[Kurkova] Yes.

[Bakatin] What a thing to happen. And then, well, you remember, he said it himself, it was nighttime, a time for reflection, the counseling sessions with the comrades. You do remember.

[Kurkova] I do remember.

[Bakatin] And then there was his second speech, on the 18th, right? It was an impromptu speech consisting of these eight points. In a jiffy the Internal Affairs Ministry cadres were to be strengthened. He was won over that night. Here, of course, he capitulated in this particular instance to the Politburo boys, who of course said that it was necessary to remove, because, when all is said and done, you cannot get on with him because he is too democratic, a liberal, you understand. [sentence as heard] That is all, and he was on his own. But it is evident that they made a mistake in the final analysis. Here he capitulated, there was this period on the night between the 17th and the 18th...

[Kurkova, interrupting] Just look, he capitulated to you, he capitulated to Yakovlev, he capitulated to Shevardnadze, he capitulated to Shatalin, and then he came back to everyone [word indistinct] he capitulated to Petrakov—it was life that made it necessary, after this event.

Communists To Form New Marxism-Based Party

LD2009153191 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—Despite the de-facto disappearance of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) from the political arena in view of the suspension of its activities following the failure of the anti-constitutional coup, part of communists do not intend to give up striving for the "socialist choice" and with this end in view are planning to form a new party.

The coordinating committee on the Marxist plaftform within the CPSU, existing for more than 18 months, has decided to set up a new party—a workers' union of communists, organising committee member Vyacheslav Terekhov told TASS.

During the period of the CPSU activity, the Marxist platform was actually in opposition to the CPSU's official leading bodies, regarding them as undemocratic, he said.

A new political organisation now wants to unite the remaining "determined communists who want to uphold their convictions, not to draw on any benefits," Terekhov said.

"We have decided to launch activities not only in Moscow but also wherever the Marxist platform has its cells—in the Ukraine, in the Urals, in Siberia, and in Transcaucasian republics, he added.

At first, the Marxist platform wants to register as a public movement and only then to form a party on the basis of the platform in two or three months' time.

Terekhov referred to Aleksey Prigarin—the only CPSU Central Committee member on the organising committee—as the main ideologist of the emerging organisation.

Prigarin previously headed the political analysis and forecasting centre under the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

The workers' union of communists intends to declare itself the successor to the CPSU and to claim part of CPSU property.

The organisers of the new party do not accept "political extremes in the party spectrum"—they do not intend to cooperate either with "neo-bolshevist orthodox communists the kind of Nina Andreyeva" or "the party of free enterprise" led by Aleksandr Rutskoy, Terekhov said.

The initiators of the workers' union of communists reckon themselves among "the left-wing centre according to classical terminology."

The organising committee, at its recent meeting, adopted a resolution describing the post-coup developments as a "counterrevolutionary coup," as a result of which "the so-called democratic forces through unlawful measures secured a de-facto removal of the CPSU from the political arena."

The resolution has it that "the elimination of the CPSU actively involved a number of its former leaders headed

by the general secretary. In a critical situation he dealt a treacherous blow both on the party and on democracy as a whole."

The Marxist platform champions the "socialist development of our society," "the leading role of social ownership of capital goods with the possible practising of various forms of ownership in the sphere of trade and the service sector," "the development of regulated market relations," "a single federal state," and "the preservation and development of the social achievements of the working people—free education and health care," the resolution stated.

"We are aware that we shall not be able to create a party with millions of members such as the CPSU," Terekhov said.

"We need a robust backbone that will bring together tens, and hundreds of thousands of people. The new party will struggle for power only by political methods," Terekhov said.

He mentioned continued efforts to preserve the Lenin museum and to hold a meeting on November 7 as actions for the near future.

TASS Reviews 21 Sep Central Press

LD2109133191 Moscow TASS in English 0604 GMT 21 Sep 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—Today's SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and SELSKAYA ZHIZN newspapers devote some of their materials to the current Russian parliamentary session.

They say the session criticized the Russian Government for not properly fulfilling an anti-crisis programme and a programme to revive the Russian countryside.

The session adopted the resolution "On the social and economic situation in the Russian Federation", which urges Russian President Boris Yeltsin to reshuffle the Russian Council of Ministers in order "to remove from the posts the leaders who failed to ensure the implementation of laws and resolutions of the congress of Russian people's deputies and the Russian parliament".

The NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA says the Russian legislature has at last realised its powers.

The PRAVDA newspaper offers Soviet Deputy Dzhangir Kerimov's comments on the situation with refugees in the country. "Although progressive by its nature, the republics' drive for independence can aggravate the refugees problem," Kerimov says.

In the article "The Helsinki Process Should Continue", NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA publishes a report by Sergey Kovalev, co- chairman of the Soviet delegation at the CSCE conference in Moscow on September 16, 1991.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA offers an article by Vladimir Kabaidze, former director of a machine-tool building association in Ivanovo.

During the last two years, he headed a Soviet-German joint venture in Germany. He believes "our normal and honest work in normal civilised society" will save Russia.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an interview with Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. He said "a battle of personalities is going on in Georgia".

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA says the Uzbekistan president has appointed Shakhlo Makhmudova, former textile worker, the Republic's foreign minister. She is the first woman to take this post in Uzbekistan.

PRAVDA carries President of the Soviet Scientific and Industrial Union Arkadiy Volskiy's comments on an agreement on cooperation between the union and the Federal Association of German Industry signed in Moscow. Volskiy believes "cooperation with developed countries will help us join the world economy with the least possible losses".

The newspaper devotes some materials to the privatisation of railways, which was prompted by break-away republics' drive for independence. The newspaper says economic consequences of the division of railways, a single transport complex, are hard to predict, to say nothing of mass financial losses.

The Soviet trade union newspaper TRUD comments on the latest congress of the Federation Council of Russia's independent trade unions. It says the protection of people's social interests is inadequate and expresses hope that "the unity of trade unions will eventually guarantee a creation of a system of social policy for the benefit of workers".

Sergey Karaganov, deputy director of the Institute of Europe of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, in his article "Foreign Policy After the Putsch" in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes that "Russia in its present condition finds it extremely difficult to 'go to Europe'. I believe Russia's European policy should aim primarily at attracting Europe to the economic, political and social spheres in Russia. This policy should also have some connections with the policy of Peter the Great".

"Putsches are politicians' business, not peasants'", Tamara Starodubtsev, wife of one of the coup leaders Vasiliy Starodubtsev, said.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN publishes an interview with Mrs. Starodubtsev and her daughter.

TRUD tells about Starodubtsev's way from collective farm dictatorship to the coup.

The Soviet youth daily KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports a newspaper correspondent was detained in former Soviet parliamentary speaker Anatoliy Lukyanov's flat during a search.

The newspaper publishes materials about former KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov, saying last month's failed coup was not his first attempt.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA continues the publication of Raisa Gorbachev's book "I hope...".

The Soviet military daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publishes a report about Soviet aircraft exhibition flights at the Scampton Air Base in Britain.

TASS Reviews 23 Sep Central Press

LD2309071691 Moscow TASS in English 0651 GMT 23 Sep 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—Today's PRAVDA highlights the situation in the capital of Georgia and the goodwill mission undertaken by the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan to settle the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The newspaper frontpages news agencies' reports from Tbilisi on fierce clashes between President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters and opposition forces on the night of Saturday to Sunday.

Reporting Boris Yeltsin's and Nursultan Nazarbayev's arrival in Yerevan on Sunday, PRAVDA writes that the outcome of their mission "will take place at the other side of the Caucasian mountain range—at Mineralnye Vody."

"The very fact that the leaders of the two largest republics take interest in the fate of Nagorno-Karabakh and their attempt to resolve the sanguinary conflict that has been going on for more than three years merits approval. It is regrettable that such a serious step has become possible only after the virtual break-up of the Soviet Union", the newspaper writes in a signed article.

Covering the September 21 referendum in Armenia on the independence of this Transcaucasian republic, PRAVDA's correspondent reports from Yerevan that 95 per cent of voters answered in the affirmative the question of whether they agree to Armenia's becoming an independent democratic state outside the Soviet Union.

"The gaining of political independence, however, by no means signifies that Armenia intends to isolate itself from the community of sovereign republics," the correspondent writes in particular.

"Republican Parliament Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan has stated that Armenia will participate in the drafting and conclusion of an economic treaty. The present leadership of the republic also considers the possibility of joining a future military and political union", the PRAVDA correspondent notes.

The newspaper carries an interview with former boss of the all-Union state-run television and radio broadcasting network, Leonid Kravchenko, who describes in detail the network's operation on August 19-21 under the state of emergency imposed on orders from the state-of-emergency committee.

Touching upon how the television fares under the new leadership, Kravchenko said in particular: "Today's one-sidedness and politisation of broadcasts is obvious to me. The tough line that the Russian television pursued on channel two is spreading over to channel one. Previously it was advantageous and convenient to be in opposition. But everything has sharply changed. It is time for the victors to adopt a constructive position."

In a dispatch from Tokyo, PRAVDA's correspondent reports that a group of Japanese businessmen expressed readiness to buy fifty to sixty toppled monuments to Lenin "and other figures of the Soviet state from the Soviet Union in order to restore them and install on the territory of the Akan National Park on Hokkaido island. [quotation marks as received]

The weekly KOMMERSANT carries an interview with Russia's Deputy Premier Yevgeniy Saburov who said the republican government has already available a programme to stabilise the economy and move to a market and that it is ready to implement it.

Saburov handed over for publication in the KOMMERSANT an economic reform scenario which was worked out under his direction and is intended for a period of September 1991 until the end of 1993.

The programme envisages the sale of municipal property, the provision of newly built housing for money, the establishment of farming zones, the privatisation of the entire agricultural infrasturcture and commercialisation of state-run enterprises, the liberalisation of prices, the abolition of residential registration regulations, and the organisation of paid public works and others steps.

"As principal measures to change the economic climate, Saburov's scenario presupposes streamlining the procedure for the registration of new businesses, the ensurance of an inevitable bankruptcy in the event of financial insolvency and at least non-worsening of the taxation regime at the first stage. [quotation marks as received]

In the final analysis, the success of the Saburov-suggested reform is associated with the stabilisation of prices by January 1994 and the revitalisation of housing construction by the spring of the same year.

KOMMERSANT experts believe that Saburov's scenario is as of today the most specific of all action plans available with the central and republican governments.

Saburov's scenario advantageously differs from its analogues and predecessors by more professional and, consequently, more realistic evaluation of the pace and time-frame for the carrying out of a market reform and the elaboration of various options in the event of setbacks in realising this or that key provision of the plan, the weekly writes.

Economic

Silayev Optimistic About Economic Prospects

PM2109173991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 91 p 1

[Interview with "Prime Minister" I. Silayev by I. Savvateyeva; place and date not given; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction: "It's Too Early To Shout 'Help!'"]

[Text] Interviews with the prime minister take place infrequently. But if we have such fortune, we of course want to ask about everything. The only problem is: the time of the government's no. 1 person is strictly limited, so you will not have much of an opportunity to get talking. Therefore, we selected one possibly fairly narrow, but, it seems to us, important theme for the interview. We decided to talk about the fate of specialist professionals in our troubled times. About the problems of those people who, in the final count, hold the key as to whether we will have heat and bread this winter.

[Savvateyeva] Ivan Stepanovich, it seems to me that a rather dangerous tendency is gathering momentum today: The stratum of professional leaders is being done away with. In the wake of the terrible: "Where were you on the 19 August?!"—specialists from the departments and enterprises are "dropping like flies." While in no way seeking to defend the interests of an excessively inflated state bureaucracy nomenklatura, I shall take the liberty of casting doubt on, for example, the expediency of retiring the whole of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Collegium at the very moment when crime is literally ravishing the country. It is possible that our "chief militiamen" were not very great democrats and even not very good people, however, it was they who, as you say, were "in the know." Does it not seem to you that in a situation where the country's economy is on the point of expiring, and endless social conflicts threaten to turn into a permanent civil war, such "purges" may have extremely unpleasant consequences.

[Silayev] Well, as far as the MVD is concerned: In the central apparatus alone there are about 10,000 people working at the moment. I consider this to be rather a lot: You do not, after all, get robbed in the ministry's corridors. It is better to take on more rank-and-file militia staffers and investigators. Such an apparatus is all the more unnecessary today, when the basic activities to combat crime are shifting out to the republics. And the dismantling of the structures is in general not going on because the leaders there are poor, and not because they are mixed up in something nasty, but because yesterday's ministries and departments should reorganize themselves inasmuch as they are incompatible with radical economic reform. We do not object if some ministry apparatus merges with a group of its enterprises and organizes a concern or association, all the more so if it is a highly skilled one. I, for example, signed a decision the other day to create a supranational agricultural equipment company which a former minister of a Union ministry, Pugin, will head.

[Savvateyeva] And what do you think about the fate of the lower level leaders who, strictly speaking, are holding everything together for the moment? Reports are coming into the editorial office that the process of discharging them for their "ties to the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]" is going full steam ahead in the provinces. Moreover, people are being chucked out for not reacting immediately on 19 August. But you see the thing is that in Moscow "everything was clear to everyone" immediately (though it was clear to far from everyone). But some particular kolkhoz chairman or leather factory director in Hicksville might simply not be able to grasp the legal culture sufficiently to enable hin to understand the point of what was going on as early as the morning of 19 August. Do you think that maybe not only a striving for democracy but the wish of the nouveau riches to force their way into power lies behind this?

[Silayev] Such a danger certainly exists. Signals are reaching us that respected directors are being accused without any grounds, and at times they are simply being slandered. We discussed this problem the other day at the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy. At fist we even wanted to adopt some sort of resolution; however, after discussion we came to the conclusion that this was not necessary. Because today, as has become clear, processes have begun to operate in the opposite direction: When some hidden forces plan to remove this or that director, the labor collectives intercede on his behalf. The workers already understand that having a qualified director is is already half the battle. And this is very healthy! In the near future we will introduce the principle of contract recruitment; a contract will be concluded with a director, and he will be able to work in peace for, say, five years. So the the tendency you are talking about is in my view being evinced now in isolated incidents, and not as some general drive to persecute people. In certain cases it certainly has to be stopped. You see it is natural that one man is a brave fellow, another is simply an ordinary person, and yet another is a little cowardly. And the majority, the bulk of the population belong to the last categories, they are ordinary people, not heroes.

[Savvateyeva] Ivan Stepanovich, let us return to the professionals. Tell me how high the professional level of the people on which your government rests is? I must

admit that I have chanced to hear on more than one occasion: The Russian leadership does not have enough specialists.

[Silayev] It is not only a question of the Russian Government's problems. In general there were serious faults in professional training in the country for a long time. During the period of industrialization and after, with the development of the defense sectors, emphasis in the education system was invariably placed on turning out engineers. Therefore you will very rarely see an economist or lawyer among our leaders today. Just take me for an example. Only 5 percent of young people graduated from the internal departments of higher educational establishments specializing in economics and law. The remainder took correspondence courses. And again there was the following practice at plants: If it was time for you to retire and you had been a good organizer and a good engineer, you were made the chief economist. Today we need professional economists and professional lawyers. I would like just such a specialist to join the leadership after me, for questions of human rights are now more important than ever before; and the economy underlies everything, it resolves everything. As far as the professional standard of the Russian Government is concerned, I in no way consider it to be low. I base my judgment if only on the fact that our Council of Ministers was not the last to promote the economic transformations.

[Savvateyeva] But this reputation—as the engine of reform—cannot be acquired on a permanent basis. What measures facilitating the perestroyka of the economy does your government intend to take in the near future?

[Silayev] We will raise the question of land sale again at the next congress. Today we see that the decision to postpone it for 10 years was incorrectly adopted to please those party structures which had started along the road of radical reform. Our opponents' predictions which claimed that peasants and city dwellers would not wish to work on the land did not prove to be justified. The following seems unlikely but it is a fact: 30,000 private farms have been created! We had however only counted on 10,000 by now. But in order to feed the whole republic there need to be 300,000 of them, maybe even a million. We therefore came to the conclusion that the land reform had exhausted its possibilities at the first stage. If we do not adopt very serious, far-reaching laws aimed at supporting the farmers (who are also essentially professionals—on the land), if we do not open up to them wide-ranging opportunities of state finance and supply, the movement will never become a mass one. You see the private farmers have up until now received, so to speak, crumbs from the master's table: The basic equipment, building materials, fertilizers—everything was given to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. We cannot allow this to go on any longer.

[Savvateyeva] Does the Russian leadership intend to stimulate (to issue a decree on?) the process of reorganizing the kolkhoz and sovkhoz system?

[Silayev] I understand; people will begin to rebuke me now: He has brushed aside the kolkhoz and sovkhoz system again. May God grant that the flourishing kolkhozes and sovkhozes are left alone! But if a kolkhoz is subsidized all the time, if from year to year it ekes out a pitiful existence—it is no longer its own master. And you cannot say: Don't touch such kolkhozes! It will not feed us. Yes, we will now give equipment, building materials, and good seeds purchased abroad—first and foremost to the private farmers. We will build turnkey farms for them using state money, and we will support the development of the peasant association "Akkor." The billion we gave it in the past year is more symbolic than part of a concrete state plan. But this billion has now become three.

[Savvateyeva] But nevertheless: The private farmers will hardly be able to feed us as early as this winter. And, as we know, the kolkhozes are not in a particular hurry to give up their grain to the government. It was you who on more than one occasion optimistically asserted: There will be no famine. Tell me where this certainty comes from?

[Silayev] Well, we can already count on private-sector potatoes. According to our data, the kolkhoz and sovkhoz harvest this year comprises in all some 30 percent of all potatoes gathered. The peasants and city dwellers grow all the remainder in their truck gardens and on their private plots. These people will no longer go to market. But there will definitely be sufficient potatoes for the remaining people. The prices of course will be high, but this is linked to inflation, to the economic situation in general.

Now on the subject of grain. This year's harvest really was no great shakes. It was 10 quintals lower than last year's record and 1-1.5 quintals less than the average annual level. Of course there is a problem: Larger quantities of grain are needed—and immediately. We could still get off the hook if the peasants wished to sell their grain to the state, but they do not: This is not profitable. We no longer have the time now to buy up so much abroad, and indeed the ports will not accept such quantities. However, a way out has been found.

All over the country huge grain elevators stand half-full. And both the peasants and even the kolkhozes and sovkhozes would not have anything against handing over their grain for storage there. But the payment system which has existed up to the present time has been scaring them off: They themselves had to pay in grain for their grain's storage. We decided to put the very opposite mechanism into effect: If a peasant put his grain in the elevator and it lay there six months, we will pay him 10 percent in grain. Like at a savings bank. If you have stored a tonne—six months later you receive one tonne plus 100 kilograms. For those who so desire we can pay in money. We calculate that in this way we can draw quite a large quantity of grain into circulation. And during these six months we will buy up grain abroad, and settle up with the peasants for the spring. Moreover,

many other economic levers will be set in motion. As a result I think that large purchases abroad will not even be necessary.

In short, our main task is to get the proprietor, the producer, and the professional interested and to support him.

We are also approaching the problem of heating this winter from such positions. I must admit that this worries us even more than the food question. There is a prediction that the winter will be a cold one: In the country's main regions the temperature will fall by 2-3 degrees below the norm. And January and February promise to be particularly frosty. Of course, the weather forecasters' predictions do not always come true, but because they exist you have to reckon with them. At the moment we in the Operational Management Committee and in the government are taking decisions to stimulate the labor of those who produce the fuel and the gas. We are working with the ispolkoms [executive committees], whose traditional task is to repair the heating systems and prepare them for the winter. They are energetically laying in fuel and putting the snow-clearing facilities in order.

So there are no reasons at all for a mood of panic characterized by the phrase "Help—we are all going to freeze to death!"

Economic Committee Discusses Winter Fuel Issues

LD2009220191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Valeriy Koisa on a meeting of the USSR Economic Management Committee in Moscow on 20 September]

[Excerpts] The Economic Management Committee discussed winter fuel and energy complex preparations. [passage omitted] As stated at today's meeting, the need to reduce energy consumption by approximately 15 percent is inevitable. However, the suggested restrictions should not concern the residential and community facilities, social sphere, and the agroindustrial complex. It was proposed that the republics work out a scheme to reduce energy supplies to industrial enterprises, which would envisage compensation for the enterprises' employees in case they close or there is underproduction. It is suggested that until a new system of management has been worked out, the presently operating scheme of fuel and energy complex management should be preserved, which will make it possible to maneuvre with the heating and fuel reserves across the whole of the country's territory. Among the proposed measures, the suggested restrictions on supplies of gasoline and diesel fuel to certain consumers can be mentioned. The whole course of discussion of these proposals makes one realise that, alas, following our unfortunate tradition, quite a few issues, the resolution of which would determine how we will live during the coming winter months, are still at the debate stage. Thus, no measures for specific regions of the country have been worked out yet. This is extremely necessary, considering the differences of climate and conditions. No optional solutions in case of emergency situations—like, say, pipeline breakdowns—are being worked out and, so on. The routine maintenance of heating networks in towns is being carried out with a customary sluggishnes. As a result of the discussion, committee members reached a conclusion that it is necessary to examine the state of affairs carefully once again and to specify the balance of energy and fuel consumption with the participation of competent representatives of the republics. This means more coordinating, specifying, etc., while the frosts have already started. Unfortunately, the winter light and heating situation remains unclear.

Gorbachev Issues Decree on Economic Committee

LD2009195391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1410 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep (TASS)—Current management of the country's economic and social life will be fulfilled by the USSR economic management committee until an interrepublican economic committee is formed. A decision on this was issued by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, who considered the need for continuity of executive power structures. Management of the country's life was previously fulfilled by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

The presidential decree, published here today, says the economic management committee has all the rights and bears the responsibilities resulting from international treaties and agreements previously concluded by the USSR Government.

'Main Provisions' of Yavlinsky Draft Summarized

PM2009144191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Essence of the Yavlinskiy Draft"]

[Text] The draft Treaty on the Economic Union, prepared under the leadership of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, has been adopted by the State Council as a basis. It is presently receiving detailed discussion. We are publishing a brief account of the main provisions of this treaty, which consists of 61 articles in 13 chapters.

Basic Principles. The Economic Union is created by independent states on the basis of voluntary participation and equal rights for all its members. The member states of the Economic Union agree to pursue a coordinated policy in the following spheres: enterprise, the movement of goods and services, the monetary and banking system, finance and taxes, prices, the labor market and social guarantees, customs regulations and tariffs, foreign economic relations and currency policy, state scientific-technical, investment, ecological, humanitarian, and other programs, standardization, and the legal regulation of economic activity.

Enterprise. The members of the Economic Union acknowledge that the basis of economic development is private property and free enterprise.

Movement of goods and services. The movement of goods and services on the territory of the states belonging to the Economic Union shall be carried out freely and on a duty-free basis.

Monetary and banking system. The members of the Economic Union acknowledge that to emerge from the crisis and control inflation, coordinated actions in the sphere of monetary and credit policy are a priority. A Banking Union is to be set up on the principles of the reserve system.

Finance and taxes. The members of the Economic Union will pursue a coordinated budget and taxation policy. The Economic Union's budget revenue shall be formed from the contributions of its members in the form of a fixed proportion of produced national income. This budget may not be in deficit.

Prices and price policy. The members of the Economic Union will pursue a coordinated policy for the transition to free price-formation.

The labor market and social guarantees. The members of the Economic Union will strive to realize the principle of freedom of movement of the work force.

Foreign economic relations and currency policy. The members of the Economic Union agree on the coordination of foreign economic activity and currency policy for the purposes of the earliest inclusion of all members in world economic relations.

The legal regulation of economic activity. In the member states of the Economic Union the legislative acts of those states shall be paramount. Their economic legislation must be harmonized.

The organs of the Economic Union. The Interstate Economic Committee, the Banking Union, and the Economic Union Arbitration Board.

The final chapters relate to additional agreements on such questions as the status and powers of the organs of the Economic Union, associate membership, and the concluding provisions.

Republics Sign Economic Cooperation Agreements

LD2109025891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1639 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 20 Sep (TASS)—A meeting or conference of the heads and representatives of the governments of the Baltic states, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belorussia, Georgia, Moldova, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, as well as delegations from Moscow and St. Petersburg, ended work here. It was devoted to the issues of economic and trade cooperation between the member republics of the union of sovereign states, which is being created, and the states which do not belong to this formation.

Participants at the conference signed a declaration on the foundations of trade and economic cooperation for 1991-1992, a protocol of intentions in cooperation in the field of transport and communications, and a declaration on the principles of cooperation in the sphere of mutual settlements for 1991-1992. According to this document, until the sides have established their own national currencies they will conduct all the transactions in rubles.

Bankers Discuss Economic Situation

LD2209135791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1215 GMT 21 Sep 91

["Topical Interview" program presented by Sergey Ananov, with Sergey Yefimovich Yegorov, president of the Association of Russian Banks; Mikhail Borisovich Khodorkovskiy, adviser to the Russian prime minister on financial and economic affairs; Vladimir Viktorovich Vinogradov, chairman of the Council of the Moscow Banking Union; Viktor Semenovich Karavdin, chairman of the board of Aeroflotbank; and (Giridin Ashotovich Tosunyan), chairman of the Board of Tekhnobank]

[Text] [Ananov] Good evening. The political events of August pushed economic problems into the background. Today economic questions are now being heard particularly acutely. We have with us today people who are most actively involved in resolving these questions in practice. These are: Sergey Yefimovich Yegorov, president of the Association of Russian Banks; Mikhail Borisovich Khodorkovskiy, adviser to the Russian prime minister on financial and economic affairs; Vladimir Viktorovich Vinogradov, chairman of the Council of the Moscow Banking Union; Viktor Semenovich Karavdin, chairman of the board of Aeroflotbank; and (Giridin Ashotovich Tosunyan), chairman of the Board of Tekhnobank.

Thus, we have bankers with us today. It is particularly the state of the credit and financial system that causes particular alarm at present. What are the main problems in this sphere? What circumstances have given rise to these problems? I put this question to Mikhail Borisovich Khodorkovskiy.

[Khodorkovskiy] We all know that a branch network of Gosbank [USSR State Bank] used to exist, there used to be a Promstroybank network, there used to be an Agrobank network, there used to be a Savings Bank, and so on. At present these banks are isolated in Russia and have been separated from the other republics. In effect, if one is to speak seriously, there is only one network that is functioning—the network of agencies of Gosbank, which is literally being choked by the flood of payments that have now fallen upon it.

Finally, there is the unpredictability of the policy of the Central Bank with regard to interest rates, which is leading to a situation in which commercial banks are unable to guarantee their clients more or less stable rates for more or less lengthy periods. In connection with this, of course, the granting of credits for long-term investments is not taking place.

[Ananov] Sergey Yefimovich, please.

[Yegorov] Of course, the position of the central bank of Russia in resolving these problems is rather weak, to say the least. That is the first problem. The second problem is, I think, that we have simply too few banks. The situation has now arisen that small and medium-sized businesses are unable to find a bank where they can open an account. Many clients approach me, as president of the association, and ask me what to do.

[Vinogradov] In our view it is primarily a question of personnel. The trouble is that the apparatus of the central bank of Russia is composed of people who worked when there were no commercial banks. They have absolutely no idea of our difficulties, our problems.

If one looks at the instructions that are issued you get the feeling that they were written by young people who have just left educational institutions. In these instructions banks are divided into banks that can be trusted and the so-called outcasts, or banks set up on the basis of an initiative, commercial banks. For some reason the banks that have been set up on the basis of special banks have a specified correlation between their own and attracted funds, which is twice as favorable as that specified for banks that have been set up by initiative.

[(Tosunyan)] We have only four laws—two Russian and two Union ones—regulating bank activity, but these are far from exhaustive laws. In normal, civilized conditions, as one might say, there should be exhaustive banking legislation. We are far from having this. The central bank of Russia should have gone in the direction of developing banking legislation and elaborating it with the participation of all interested parties. But the quote, instructive approach, unquote, which constantly sends down an avalanche of instructions from the top downwards, is not the creation of law but a contrary process.

Many of these instructions have set our teeth on edge, but nonetheless they continue to be valid. These include the restrictions on interest rates. Everyone acknowledges that there is hyperinflation. It has already reached astronomical levels. Nonetheless, my common sense cannot swallow how, under conditions when there is a monthly inflation rate of around about 10 percent—and this is not the worst figure—how one can set a top limit on interest rates of 25 percent per year. One asks why one should lend money and not just spend it.

[Yegorov] You know, my colleague was right when he said that without civilized banking legislation we cannot get anywhere. Now a situation has arisen in which all the reins of power with regard to the legislative sector have been handed over once again to the Bank of Russia. It issues instructions and issues them in the direction of holding on to power and not delegating power.

[Ananov] Go ahead, Mikhail Borisovich.

[Khodorkovskiy] What I want to say is that, of course, you understand that the government is compelled now, in the current situation, to resort to bank credits. This is inevitable. The situation today means that credits must be granted somehow. If the government requests the central bank to grant credit, we must ask how a normal bank acts. It sees that it has no credit resources, so it looks for credit resources. For example, as you proposed, it asks other banks, including commercial banks, to provide credit resources on mutually beneficial terms, or it helps its client to issue securities, which are then circulated somehow. There are dozens of other methods, too. What does the Russian central bank do? It simply adds a few zeros. In other words, one day there is no money, then it suddenly appears. What does this mean? It is, naturally, an indirect blow to the whole population and against that same Russian government budget just the same. Look—you have a Russian government budget of, say, about 170 billion rubles; the Russian government requests a loan; the state bank prints the extra money, puts it into circulation, and gives it to the government as a credit; but its purchasing power falls as a result of being issued.

[Vinogradov] I think it would be right if we acted very quickly and efficiently, because some time might pass and the International Monetary Fund might put forward demands, when we will be subject to the strict rules of the International Monetary Fund. A campaign will be declared against the superfluous mass of money, enterprises will be deprived of their spare money, the central bank's interest rates on credits granted to commercial banks will rise to 30, maybe 50, or even 100 percent. Under these conditions, credits will be taken out only on a very short-term basis for circulating operations, while investment operations will be measured in months, in order to obtain a quick yield. It will be very hard for us to work then. Large enterprises will go to the wall, only small and medium-sized businesses will be left, the value of fixed assets will fall sharply, and they will be bought up for a song by Western capital, mainly American. All that will depend on how well and deeply the Russian central bank and the government, working together, think through their financial, credit and monetary policy.

[Ananov] Commercial banks are now being swamped with accusations of extravagance, financial piracy, neglect of commercial ethics, robbery, and other deadly sins. I want to hear a comment from the criticized party.

[(Tosunyan)] The law does not forbid the lending of money for growth, which is one of the most ancient forms of banking activity. What is a different matter is the fact that the level of this, and whether it is aimed at pure extravagance, meaning lending just for interest, or

at the development of production or at other services, of which there are now hundreds, depends on the standard and the condition of the economy itself. Our poor state has created such unstable conditions that the individual does not want to produce; so, many people leave the actual process of production and try to process large amounts of money through fast operations, in order to make a profit.

[Karavdin] What we are dealing with is the fact that we have an inadequate legal foundation. In order for us to invest money and be confident that we will get that money back, we must have a normal law on loans and deposits. That does not exist today. What do they want banks to do—take risks? Fine, but the risk has to be paid for with higher interest rates.

[Yegorov] Because legislation is lagging behind, a particular operation gets declared illegal. It is legal by world standards, but because we do not have such a law—they have not hit upon it, or perhaps it is because they are too lazy to do it—a person finds himself the object of accusations, up to and including criminal charges.

[Ananov] I thank all of you who have taken part in our discussion. I hope detailed banking legislation will be reworked considerably. Thank you.

Food, Fuel, Medicine Shortages Examined

LD2309062291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Sep 91

[From the review of the weekly press]

[Text] Three components in our life are food, medicine, and fuel. The government weekly ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI devotes an entire page to an analysis of these three spheres of our life.

Let us begin with grocery prices. According to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Committee for Statistics, grocery prices have increased by 181 percent in 1991 compared with the same period in 1990. Among these the price of foodstuffs themselves has increased by 227 percent, and the price of alcoholic drinks by 124 percent. Meat is 275 percent more expensive, and fish 285 percent. The price of milk and dairy products has increased by 198 percent, bread by 249 percent, and potatoes by 243 percent. The highest market price for beef was registered in Moscow—39.5 rubles [R] per kg, and the lowest in Rostov Oblast—R10 per kg.

In order to reach the 1990 level of consumption Russia needs to import 410,000 tonnes of meat and 400,000 tonnes of sugar. This will cost about 730 million dollars. By all accounts these funds are going to be found. The very fact that 70 percent of this year's supply of potatoes for domestic consumption was provided by private producers, and only 30 percent by collective and state farms, shows that food supplies to the population can only be improved if the private agricultural sector is expanded. For the moment the deputies' land commission, which mostly consists of leaders and specialists from public sector farms, is one of the main factors holding up land reform. In the RSFSR 12,000 applications for the establishment of smallholdings have been turned down.

At the meeting of the RSFSR Council of Ministers on 13 September, the following measure for stimulating private farming in the Republic was proposed. Every Russian citizen wishing to set up a smallholding would be paid R50,000 as initial capital for the acquisition of a minimum quantity of equipment, and for the construction of a house. Half of this would be a grant, and half a loan bearing an interest rate of a few percent. The administrative and material penalties imposed on officials at all levels for red tape when examining applications for land will soon be increased. Peasant farmers and smallholders will shortly be given priority in the distribution of agricultural equipment.

Now let us take medicine. If the shortage of medicine continues to get worse, every purchase will become a tangible blow to our pocket. Illness is truly becoming an expensive luxury. According to the RSFSR State Committee for Statistics, black market prices for medicine increased by 231 percent between of September last year and September this year. On average they are now 28 times more expensive than state prices. According to Kalinin, the RSFSR minister of health, the supply of medicaments to the public and hospitals in the RSFSR continues to be in a disastrous state. There are two reasons for this. First, the RSFSR has virtually no modern pharmaceutical industry. At best, it can only satisfy 30-36 percent of the domestic demand for medicine. The second reason is the sharp reduction and, in some cases, the complete halting of supplies of medicine from abroad, arising from the USSR Vneshekonombank's failure to pay for imports up to 1990. Russian Minister of Health Kalinin hopes that the debts will be paid off in the next two weeks, and that foreign firms will supply us with essential medicines very quickly. Well, let's wait another two weeks.

Finally, fuel. ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI tried to get the recently appointed RSFSR minister of fuel and energy, Dyakov, to explain the situation. The minister refused to give the government newspaper the information it needed, pleading that he was very busy with affairs of state. So the paper had to contact those regions of Russia which have a direct impact on the state of the Republic's power supplies.

Kemerovo. The shortfall in coal supplies to consumers from the Kuzbass during the first eight months of 1991 amounts to 17 million tonnes. There are absolutely no reserve stocks in the Kuzbass. Everything which is extracted is immediately despatched to consumers.

Tyumen. Oil extraction continues to fall. It is quite obvious that enterprises in the oblast will not fulfill the state order for 1991. The shortfall in oil supplies is at least 40 million tonnes.

Khanty-Mansiysk. The oil extraction situation is extremely critical. It is obvious that tough energy-saving measures must be introduced at oil-fired power stations now, without waiting for the onset of winter. Enterprises which use gas are in a relatively satisfactory situation.

However, the weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI takes a harder line on this. In an economic commentary it says that the CIA was 10 years off target. It promised us an energy crisis at the beginning of the 1980's. We got it at the beginning of the 1990's, the weekly says. Our energy crisis has absolutely nothing to do with a shortage of fuel. It is caused by the absolute inefficiency of our economy. [words indistinct] such a thing in Kuwait, and it would find itself without oil, too. To have any chance of establishing a normal economy, we have to get the market working, at the very least. At the moment it's completely swamped with devalued notes issued by Pavlov. Mendeleyev once objected to the burning of a commodity as precious as oil. He said it would be cheaper to burn banknotes to keep ourselves warm. It is time we followed his advice. One way or another, we have not managed to rid ourselves of our financial legacy, and we are doomed to follow the same path in energy policy—a growing shortage of raw material, combined with an increasing burden left to future generations.

Danube Canal Repair May Bankrupt Shipping Line

PM2009133591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Sep 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by S. Zheleznyak, A. Leonov, from the Danube River estuary]

[Text] [Announcer] Traffic on the Danube, which had been interrupted as a result of a Soviet ship's accident in the river estuary, has resumed.

[Zheleznyak] The Sulina Canal where the accident occurred is the only passage to the Black Sea for ships with a deep draft. The "Rostock" was one such ship. It was on its way to Algeria when at the 31-mile mark of the canal the rudder suddenly veered to the left. The crew's desperate attempts to correct the course proved futile. The Rostock's bow hit the left bank. The powerful current caught the stern and pushed the 105-meter ship right across the canal, only 100 meters wide at this point. The powerful current pushed against the ship's side as if it were a dam. The ship keeled over and the water began to rise, threatening to flood a nearby village. Disaster was averted only by widening the canal by 30 meters on the bow side of the capsized ship. Later this part of the canal was deepened and used initially for shallow-draft, and subsequently for medium-draft ships. In your opinion, how long will it take to fully restore traffic on the canal?

[Nedobezhkin] I believe it will take between one and four months.

[Zheleznyak] What will happen if all the costs of repairing the damage have to be borne by your shipping line, which is currently not one of the most profitable in the Union? What will happen to the shipping line.?

[Nedobezhkin] The shipping line will simply cease to exist.

[Zheleznyak] The conclusion of Soviet, Romanian, and Dutch experts who have embarked on an investigation will decide who has to pay for the damage—the Soviet-Danube Shipping Line or the insurance company—and how much.

Agricultural

Strict Measures Aimed at Priority Harvesting Work

PM2009151191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[By A. Platoshkin under the general heading "Breath of Fall. Laying In What Has Been Grown"]

[Text] It seems as though phrases such as "battle for the harvest" and "sacred commandment" (it is the first) will be disappearing from our vocabulary. Well, good riddance, as they say. On the other hand, new phrases are taking their place: "What will we eat this winter?" and "Is there a threat of famine?" Indeed, things are not getting any easier....

In the past few weeks threshing rates have gradually increased—6.5, then 7.6, and finally 8.7 million hectares. In all, grain crops and pulses have been harvested on approximately 80 million hectares. Some 134.8 million tonnes of grain have been threshed with an average yield of 17.4 quintals. However, according to figures from the country's State Committee for Statistics, as of 9 September the state had been sold 30.7 million tonnes, or around 40 percent of the state order. Russia's farms have sold 17 million tonnes of grain as against their state order of 41 million tonnes.

Harvesting of vegetables and potatoes is proceeding slowly. Admittedly, the sowing of winter crops and the plowing of fall plowland is going well: There is at least hope for next year.

The USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy has adopted a resolution on the conclusion of the harvest period and the fulfillment of the produce procurement plans. Apart from providing incentives for those who sell more grain than had been planned, the resolution also defines the personal responsibility for the timely delivery of transportation, materials, and labor resources to the countryside and for the fulfillment of grain dispatch plans.

These are strict measures which cut across the proclaimed economic pluralism and free enterprise. But, after all, the situation is out of the ordinary, too. Harvesting rates have increased, albeit slowly, but the level

of state grain purchases has dropped sharply in recent weeks—to 2.7, 2.3, and 1.8 million tonnes. There have already been cases of mills grinding to a halt in a number of areas in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kirghizia, and other republics. What will happen this winter?

We need to recognize that this question has been worrying the public and the authorities for some time. In the past few months many resolutions have been adopted on helping the countryside and providing incentives for the sale of agricultural produce. But the countryside is still facing the same problems: shortages of fuel and transport, and disruption to deliveries of consumer goods and equipment for sale in return for grain.

But all is not yet lost. Moreover, the range of fall concerns is expanding. Potato lifting is under way. Harvesting of grain corn, rice, and other crops is beginning. In short, our granaries and silos could still be replenished for some time to come. But we need equipment and manpower and incentives to ensure that this manpower works enthusiastically—not out of fear, but out of interest.

On a number of non-Chernozem Zone farms, for instance, it has been decided to give some of the harvest back to those who came to harvest it. The fields in the Moscow area, Leningrad Oblast, and other oblasts and regions have been "occupied" by military subunits. Students and schoolchildren are helping to bring in the harvest. But, so far, few people have been sent to the fields from plants and factories. We realize that enterprises have their own production tasks. But if we fail to resolve our main task—harvesting what we have grown, and feeding ourselves and the people—then what is the point of our other tasks?

Imported Plant Causes 'Revolution' in Thinking

PM2009121991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Sep 91

[Report by I. Dvorkin, V. Khominets from Dzhambul Oblast; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Dvorkin] The "Podgornyy" sovkhoz [state farm] in Dzhambul Oblast has scored a major victory. A new production unit has gone into operation here. I am not joking.

The production equipment cost almost $400,000. The hard currency was earned by the farm's grain growers. The story of the efforts to extract this money from the Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity] and to buy this mini-plant would fill volumes. The unit produces 2 tonnes of sausage per shift. The range includes several dozen types of sausage—pate sausage, bologna sausage, ham sausage, salami, frankfurters, and saveloys. Many of us have forgotten their existence, and the younger generation has never tasted such delicacies.

According to Ludwig Wolfgang, president of the U.S. Wolf-Tec company who, together with his son supervised the installation of the equipment, the locally produced sausage will sell for both dollars and deutschmarks.

[L. Wolfgang, president of Wolf-Tec Inc., identified by caption, in English with simulutaneous translation in Russian] I have enjoyed my work here with the Russian people very much, and I think that they are very receptive to new things and new technologies.

[Sovkhoz director S.S. Sadykov, identified by caption] What they are showing us here is pure science fiction.... Two hours, and any processed meat product is ready. This applies to different types of sausage, ham, and so forth....

[Dvorkin] This technology itself is bound to make an impression on people....

[Sadykov] Yes, yes, of course. The main thing is that our people are working here. By all accounts it is causing a revolution in their minds. I believe that the main emphasis must now be placed on the acquisition of foreign technology. This will help us to overcome the present situation more quickly. This will help our country to its feet.

Scientific

Soyuz Launches Kosmos-2156 Satellite

LD2009192891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1151 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep (TASS)—"Kosmos-2156," the latest artificial earth satellite, was launched in the Soviet Union on 19 September by the "Soyuz" launch vehicle.

The satellite carries scientific equipment for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in orbit with the parameters:

—initial period of revolution: 89.6 minutes;

—apogee: 369km;

—perigee: 176km;

—orbital inclination: 68.1 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

Space Agency To Undergo 'Radical Transformations'

LD2009103491 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Khrustov]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—In view of the transfer of the many functions of the centre to republics, the country's principal space agency—the USSR Ministry of General Machine Building—is likely to undergo radical transformations soon: Most space-industry enterprises and firms will tranfer to the jurisdiction of sovereign republics.

A Rosobshchemash corporation will emerge in the Russian Federation, the TASS correspondent learned from reliable sources. The KORAT (an acronym for the Russian words Kosmicheskaya I Raketnaya Tekhnika—space rocket technology) will be one of constituent companies.

The KORAT will bring together many large space firms: the Salyut Design Bureau, where all Soviet orbital stations, including "Mir" which is now in orbit, the Progress plant, known for the Soyuz and Energiya space booster rockets and the photon and resource economic research satellites, and other factories and design bureaus.

The Glavkosmos and the Energiya Scientific and Production Association—the leading developer of Soviet manned space technology—will apprarently become part of the Rosobshchemash, exercising the rights of companies.

Corporations, similar to the Rosobshchemash, will also come into being in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan—the republics which possess powerful space science and production potential.

Mir Cosmonauts Conduct Geophysical Experiments

LD2109005991 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 20 Sep 91

[TASS correspondent report from mission control center]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The crew of the Mir space station devoted the greater part of their working time this week to geophysical experiments.

As part of the extensive programme to explore the earth's natural resources and the environment, Anatoliy Artsebarskiy and Sergey Krikalev carried out several sessions to photograph the southern areas of the country's European part, Kazakhstan and central Asian republics to define the state of the vegetation cover and appraise atmospheric pollution in major industrial centres.

The cosmonauts' studies today focused on gas-bearing areas of the Orenburg region, farms in Krasnodar territory and Kalmykiya.

The results of medical checks carried out by the cosmonauts using the Chibis pneumatic-vacuum space suit showed that both cosmonauts are in good health.

Report Examines Safety of Upcoming Mir Mission

917Q0188A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by L. Sergeyev: "The International Crew Will Make Do Without a Flight Engineer"]

[Text] **In Zvezdnyy Gorodok the presentation of the latest international space crew which is to set out for the Soviet orbital station Mir on 2 October has taken place. For the first time the crew includes three representatives of sovereign states.**

The main crew is made up of the experienced cosmonaut Aleksandr Volkov, and also representatives of Austria, Franze Fibek, and of Kazakhstan, Toktar Abubakirov. The backup crew is made up of Aleksandr Viktorenko, Clemens Lothaller, and Talgat Musabayev. The composition of the crew is somewhat unusual; it was expected earlier that researchers from Austria and Kazakhstan would go to the Mir station with a six-week interval between them. However, certain material complications being experienced by our space research organization have forced it to economize on one mission. In addition, it has become clear that the research program drawn up by scientists in Austria and Kazakhstan successfully complement each other.

Thus, hospitality is not suffering. But what about safety? For the first time a space vehicle will be launched essentially without a flight engineer, while two members of the crew have been trained for the mission under a shortened program. This means that during the mission, in the event of nonstandard situations, the crew commander will have to carry out not only his own direct duties but also the functions of the flight engineer. Will Volkov or Viktorenko be able to cope with a double burden? As the deputy chief of the cosmonaut training center, A. Leonov, said, the commanders have been trained in accordance with the program for cosmonaut-rescuers, who in the event of an accident can return their two comrades from orbit.

None of this means that the representatives of Kazakhstan and Austria are being sent on a mission with nothing to do. It is simply that their tasks are different, primarily scientific—monitoring the Earth's surface, astrophysics, medical and biological studies. In addition, the Austrians have paid out a considerable sum. And the negotiations about the mission for a cosmonaut from Kazakhstan have been going on for a long time. But as the old- timers in the ranks of the cosmonauts will recall, the candidate proposed several years ago was so large that it was impossible to make a space suit for him. This time this kind of irony has been eliminated. Suffice it to say that T. Abubakirov is an honored test pilot of the USSR and a Hero of the Soviet Union.

Coincidence or not, on the day when the crew with the Kazakh cosmonaut was presented in Zvezdnyy Gorodok, it was announced in Alma-Ata that a republic space agency was to be set up. Perhaps the second event was even more significant than the first. In a period when in the Union budget funding for space research is being sharply reduced and other radicals see no sense at all in it, the leaders of Kazakhstan, first and foremost the president of the republic, N. Nazarbayev, are supporting the development of this sector in every possible way, and believe that it has high scientific potential irreplaceable in solving economic problems and in developing an intellectual base for a technological breakthrough. A prestige space mission with a representative of Kazakhstan is merely one episode in a broad program of space research planned in Kazakhstan. This program provides for the introduction of hi-tech space technologies in production here on Earth, studies of water resources, pasture, and agricultural land, and fundamental scientific research. The Institute of Space Research was recently set up in Alma-Ata. A representative delegation of American industrialists closely linked to NASA recently visited Baykonur. It became clear from our conversation that the visit to Kazakhstan had rewarded them with rich ideas about cooperation with Soviet space research, but that there was only one complication, namely, it is not clear who sets that policy today.

The international crew will be in orbit for a week. A change in the initial flight plan has led to a situation in which Sergey Krikalev will remain on the Mir station for another half year. During the landing the international crew will be led by A. Artsebarskiy.

New Head of Cosmonaut Training Center Announced

LD1909220891 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—A veteran spaceman has been appointed to head the cosmonauts' training centre by an order of the USSR defence minister, Gen. Petr Klimuk, 49, is replacing Gen. Vladimir Shatalov.

Klimuk took part in three orbital expeditions, the first one in 1973. His second time in space was in 1975. In 1978 he was commander of an international Soviet-Polish crew.

One of the principal tasks of the Soviet space programme, Klimuk believes, is to enhance its part dealing with practical applications on earth. "The most important thing is to conduct space research for needs of the national economy, with due regard for its profitability," he believes.

Physics Institute Testing 12-Channel Laser

PM1609145591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 91 Single Edition p 6

[Unattributed report under "PRAVDA Has Not Written About This Before" rubric: "A 'Spark' Will Kindle a Flame"]

[Text] A powerful 12-channel laser installation, the "Iskra-5" ["Spark-5"], is in operation at the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Experimental Physics in the city of Arzamas-16 (Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast). It has been designed to carry out basic research in the field of laser thermonuclear fusion and other applied tasks relating to the interaction of laser emission and matter. The installation is the most powerful of its kind in Europe.

A series of experiments that has been conducted, in which a number of interesting results have been obtained, confirms theoretical design models of the functioning of thermonuclear targets.

Oceanic Thermal Power Plants Planned for Siberia

LD2009041691 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Krupenik]

[Text] St. Petersburg September 19 TASS—Soviet scientists are planning the construction of large-capacity power stations in the estuaries of Siberian rivers without building dams and reservoirs. The stations will not use the energy of current, but the difference in temperatures of cold arctic air and relatively warm water under the ice cover.

"Prospects for creating oceanic thermal power stations as a non-traditional ecologically pure source of energy is now being developed by research centres of many countries", Yuriy Babayev, vice president of Soviet Polar Explorers Association, told TASS. He said the idea of transforming warmth of the ocean into electric energy was first suggested in the 19th century, but it has become feasible with the present level of scientific and technological progress.

Preliminary calculations of power engineers show the arctic coast of the USSR is most suitable for such stations. Data taken over many years for the average annual temperature of the air in the estuaries of Siberian rivers is minus 13.7 degrees centigrade, and temperature in winter drops to minus 52 degrees. The temperature of water under the ice never drops lower than minus 1.5 degrees.

Experts estimated energy sources of coastal arctic districts and possible capacity of envisaged oceanic thermal stations. They seem to be able to compete favourably with diesel electric power stations. Moreover, they will

make it possible to save diesel fuel, which is in short supply, and to preserve the fragile nature of the extreme north.

Arctic Herders Must Return 'Space Scrap Metal'

LD2009040491 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Anufriyev]

[Text] Arkhangelsk September 19 TASS—The clean-up operation to remove "space scrap metal" has been completed in the Soviet arctic regions above which Soviet booster rockets propel spacecraft into orbit.

Specialists of the Transres Research-and-Development Centre and the Plesetsk Cosmodrome had to hunt for used booster rocket stages, engines, parts of nose-cones and other things that had fallen from the sky in two extensive areas—the tundra of the Nenets Autonomous Region and in the Mezen District. Helicopters lifted about 245 tonnes of scrap metal from the areas.

A spokesman for the Plesetsk Cosmodrome press centre told TASS that local residents had got used to "gifts from the sky" over the past 25 years, and some of them were averse to parting with the "celestial souvenirs". Deer breeders, for instance, have long been using nose-cones as a universal container for storing and transporting goods. In this way space technologies have long become part of Nenets shepherds' everyday life.

It was decided to collect space scrap metal every year. Specialists say this past summer they tested methods of collecting and transporting booster rocket parts without doing harm to the vulnerable environment in this region.

A special commission is now working in the Arkhangelsk region to establish what effect the cosmodrome has on its environment.

Military

TASS Cites Shaposhnikov News Conference

LD2009184691 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Oleg Moskovskiy, Sergey Nikishov, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—Banning party from the Army, reforming the Soviet Armed Forces and tackling the personnel issue were raised at a news conference in Moscow today by Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov.

The minister said that the ministry was working on a complex of issues connected with military reform and will submit specific proposals for consideration by the State Council in October.

The inter-republic consultative meeting on September 10-11 which was attended by representatives of republics helped work out unified approaches to the development of the armed forces during the transition period and for foreseeable future.

This work, Shaposhnikov stressed, takes account of the decisions of the 5th Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies which explicitly says "that the Armed Forces must be united".

Assessing the events in the USSR between August 19-21, the minister said that "it was a state rather than military coup, a plot masterminded by a group of people".

"The military did not replace authorities anywhere," he stressed. "The Army remained united with its own people and therefore deserves respect."

Replying to journalists' questions, the defence minister reaffirmed the Soviet leadership's course towards the total termination of nuclear testing.

"We are opposed to nuclear testing and call on all other nuclear powers to adopt a similar stand," Shaposhnikov said.

On prospects of testing nuclear weapons in Novaya Zemlya, Shaposhnikov said that "this will depend on the other side."

In addition to that, Shaposhnikov said, the USSR is ready for other steps on reducing strategic offensive armaments. In his view, it is time to start negotiations on the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, which would reduce the risk of the unsanctioned use of nuclear systems.

Asked about the USSR's attitude to the possible use of force by the anti-Iraq coalition to secure the implementation of U.N. Security Council resolutions on the Persian Gulf, the minister said that the Soviet leadership was opposed to the escalation of military actions in that region and favoured a political solution to outstanding problems.

He said that the USSR, including the Defence Ministry, intended to abide by all pledges assumed during the Gulf crisis.

Journalists wanted to know if the USSR maintained nuclear weapons on German territory. Shaposhnikov said that not a single Soviet-made nuclear or chemical warhead remained on German territory. The same applies to the Baltics.

Commenting on the issue of the Soviet troops withdrawal from the Baltic states, Shaposhnikov expressed the view that the pull-out could start on the basis of inter-state agreements after 1994.

Before 1994, the USSR will continue to withdraw its troops from East European countries.

The minister expressed the hope that the Baltic states will display the same understanding to pull-out issues as Germany by providing necessary assistance.

One of the questions dealt with the Soviet leadership's recent statement about the withdrawal of troops from Cuba. Shaposhnikov said that the Soviet military contingent in Cuba numbered 5,000- 10,000 men and that Moscow was prepared for talks with Havana on its reduction or complete withdrawal.

The defence minister informed journalists about the solution of social security issues in the Army and Navy. He said, in particular, that salaries of officers will grow by 30-40 per cent from October 1 this year and will be exempt from income tax.

The minister said that about 200,000 officers' families have no adequate housing and promised more money from the military budget for housing construction.

The minister said there are plans to reduce spending on arms purchases. On the whole, he opposed the idea of slashing the budget in order to resolve social issues and reducing expenditures for military research and development.

Asked about the Soviet Armed Forces' potential adversary, Shaposhnikov replied, "I do not see potential adversaries at present, but a military threat has not been entirely eliminated since there remain large groupings of armed forces, some leaders have aggressive aspirations, and the solution of some political problems by force has not been ruled out.

"As long as this situation remains, we should maintain our Armed Forces at proper level."

Speaking about relations between the centre and the republics on issues related to the functioning of the Armed Forces, the minister expressed the view that "since we live in a single economic space and will probably live in a single military-political and strategic space and use single air space, we will eventually work out a common position."

At the same time Shaposhnikov did not rule out the possibility of establishing republican armed units, like a national guard.

On nuclear arms control, Shaposhnikov remarked that "irrespective of the republics' line of conduct, it should be controlled by the centre, but the republic presidents should know what weapons are located on their territory and how they are being used."

Shaposhnikov favoured establishing a defence council that would include "representatives of the republics on the territory of which there are nuclear weapons."

The defence minister said that he "does not intend to allow use of the Army for the solution of domestic problems, including inter-ethnic conflicts."

"There are other structures, methods and means" for that, he added.

Shaposhnikov said that the "Soviet Armed Forces are not currently involved in hostilities on the territory of Karabakh, Armenia and Azerbaijan."

Army units have only been used to guard borders between the republics to prevent armed clashes.

High-ranking NATO representatives whom the Soviet minister met recently expressed "understanding and support" for military reform plans in the USSR, he said.

"I think that the NATO leadership is already reacting to some extent to our declarations and our aspirations. There are positive steps on reducing armaments and armed forces in Europe and on the territory of the United States."

Shaposhnikov on Nuclear Arms Reduction

OW2209220791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2118 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet defense minister, Mr Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, has said that the Soviet Union is prepared to continue to reduce its strategic nuclear armaments and to stop nuclear tests altogether on a "reciprocal basis". He said also the Soviet Army personnel will be reduced to 3 million people during the formation of a new union of sovereign states.

Mr Shaposhnikov stressed that "the threat of possible local conflicts" continues to exist. "As long as it exists", he said, "we have to keep our defense capability at an appropriate level".

General Staff Chief Lobov Interviewed

91SV0091B Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Sep 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with General V.N. Lobov, chief of General Staff, by Pavel Felgengauer; place and date not given: "The New Chief of the Soviet General Staff: General Lobov on the Structure of Armed Forces During the Transition Period"]

[Text] **Army General B.N. Lobov replaced Army General Moiseyev as chief of General Staff after the failed coup of 19-21 August. Earlier on, Vladimir Nikolayevich was the chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of Warsaw Pact Nations, while at the same time serving as first deputy chief of General Staff. This fall, however, without much ado the Warsaw Treaty ceased to exist, and General Lobov was "exiled" to preside over the Frunze Military Academy. Among the top military brass, Vladimir Nikolayevich is distinguished by almost indecent educational credentials (professor and doctor of military science), as well as the excessive breadth and progressiveness of his views—which, actually, was the main reason for his**

falling out of favor. Now General Lobov, who recently turned 56, is facing a difficult task: to find a worthy place for the reformed armed forces in the radically changing country.

[Felgengauer] Vladimir Nikolayevich, you took over the General Staff at a time that is difficult for both the country and the Army. To a large degree, the Armed Forces have lost society's trust, confidence in their own future, and are undoubtedly in need of reform. What are you planning to do?

[Lobov] Yes, you are right: This is an exceedingly difficult time, but it is also a very interesting and demanding responsibility. I was appointed chief of Frunze Academy just two months ago, and was busy with student enrollment and preparations for the new school year. Fortunately, I know the people from prior service assignments. They are very good, responsible, well-trained people. I have no significant difficulties. Orders are carried out and tasks are being accomplished.

[Felgengauer] You are saying that the Army has retained its manageability and is complying with the orders coming from the top?

[Lobov] Naturally. I have the experience of having worked on the General Staff; as the first step, I took command of the nuclear weapons under control...

[Felgengauer] You know, many people are concerned now as to who actually was in control of the Soviet nuclear arsenal during the coup?

[Lobov] Well, this is history; for me, it was important to immediately take the nuclear potential under control. As soon as I left the office of the minister of defense, where the decree of my new appointment had been read to me, I did not go to my office where you and I are now talking; I went to the place where the Soviet strategic forces command is situated, and took it all in hand. After that, I reported to the minister and to the political leadership (Comrade Gorbachev and Comrade Yeltsin) that everything was under control. Then I took command of the forces, got in touch with all commanders in chief and chiefs of staff, and issued instructions on what to do, what not to do, and why. Therefore, at this point I can say with all certainty to the citizens of the country and of the world that the Armed Forces are under command, and there cannot be any spontaneous or uncontrolled actions. This is being confirmed through all verification channels at my disposal.

[Felgengauer] Thank God.

[Lobov] Thank God.

[Felgengauer] I understand that from a professional point of view the situation probably seems more or less normal, but we have to take into account that a lot of people have been extremely frightened by the 19-21 August events and they now imagine a putsch everywhere. There are many troops in the country; they inevitably move around, and this may cause a panic every time. What steps are you planning in the near future to increase public confidence in the Army?

[Lobov] We are coordinating our actions with the leadership of Russia; I hope that in the future we will establish relationships with all republic and local leaderships; we will forewarn them of maneuvers and such, and then there will be no reasons for mistrust.

[Felgengauer] As I understand it, Colonel General P. Grachev will serve as liaison between the army command and the Russian leadership. Can you elaborate on his future role?

[Lobov] He is chairman of the State Committee on Defense of the Russian Federation with the rank of first deputy minister of defense of the USSR.

[Felgengauer] Where will General Grachev's main area of responsibility be?

[Lobov] He is responsible for the affairs of Russia, but his rank is first deputy minister of defense. Through him, we will coordinate our actions so that the public in Russia will know what the Army is doing. After all, 70 percent of the troops are deployed on the territory of Russia. I believe that a lot of misfortunes stemmed from the fact that we invite foreigners to our maneuvers, while our own population remains completely uninformed.

[Felgengauer] The Army should improve its image?

[Lobov] Yes, there should be information: of course, within the boundaries of sensible and necessary secrecy, but not a complete lack of news as before. Training exercises and maneuvers should be coordinated with local authorities. The Army should return to the people and become a true people's army.

[Felgengauer] Vladimir Nikolayevich, as I understand, there is substantial personnel reshuffling—especially in the top—going on in the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff. Can you offer any comments on such reports?

[Lobov] I can say the following: The actions of each officer during the recent events have revealed quite clearly the attitudes both in the Army as a whole and in the General Staff in particular. Still, I resolutely object to what is now being called a "witch hunt." Many people simply were carrying out their orders—the Army cannot exist without subordination. I do not question the force of an order. If I start doubting, I do not belong in the Army. We, the soldiers, are not used to doubts; people are used to carrying out orders, but when the troops were thrown against their own people, even this military habit of obeying orders failed, thank God.

[Felgengauer] Yes, there is a general opinion that the coup failed primarily because orders were being carried out without much fervor.

[Lobov] The people in the field immediately understood that something was wrong. It is extremely regretful that

in the top echelons, including the General Staff, some people blindly followed orders. It is not my business to sort out who had what motives, but those who behaved in a sufficiently doubtful manner will be dismissed from the General Staff. People had to make sure of what they were doing; they had to verify all of this through various channels—this is our job. This has not happened, however. There is no place on the General Staff for those who blindly follow orders, especially at the top. What did they think they were doing—sending tanks into the capital of their own Motherland?

[Felgengauer] What are the specific personnel changes? For instance, has Colonel General Denisov, chief of the General Staff Main Operations Directorate, been dismissed?

[Lobov] Together with Chief of General Staff General Moiseyev, his aide Zalomin was relieved of his duties; General Denisov was relived of duty, too. I do not wish to accuse anybody of crimes against the state; I am not an investigator or a procurator; only those who were not able to carry out their duties in proper manner will be dismissed.

[Felgengauer] Is it your opinion that there were no active plotters on the General Staff?

[Lobov] I do not think that the General Staff actively participated in the plot. Had the General Staff participated in the plot, it would have raised the entire Army instead of only two divisions (Taman and Kantemirov). I think that it is misleading that everybody is talking about a military coup, about a "junta"—this is incorrect. In its Latin American meaning, junta is when the military takes power. It appears that in our "junta" there was only one, Marshal Yazov. Well, Varennikov, too.

[Felgengauer] Many specialists told me earlier that a true military coup in the USSR is impossible because all actions of the Army are under the control of military counterintelligence, which until most recently was a part of the USSR KGB. So I agree with you in principle.

[Lobov] The jurists, the investigators, and, in the final count, the court will probably get to the bottom of this plot. I must say that all of this is outside of General Staff competence.

[Felgengauer] Lately there were reports that some republics—for instance, the Ukraine—in one way or the other claim that the troops in the districts located on their territory should be subordinate to local governments. As chief of General Staff, what do you think?

[Lobov] To the best of my knowledge, the situation is somewhat different. At issue is the status of troops subordinated to the Union and the terms of their deployment. I will tell you more: I have been conducting negotiations over the telephone with the leadership of the Baltic republics—with Landsbergis and others. We found a common language rather easily—they are intelligent people, and it is pleasure to talk to them. I must say that the Balts are agreeing to permit a continuing deployment of troops on their territory, but everything needs to be codified in proper agreements.

[Felgengauer] You know, of course, better than I, that in that version of the Union treaty, the signing of which was derailed by the coup attempt, basically nothing was said about the status of the All-Union Army. A separate treaty on security, or an appropriate addendum that would have codified the military union of friendly republics was probably needed. This had not been done. Now it is clear to everybody that a resolute reform of the Army is needed, since the old structure of the Armed Forces in no way corresponds to the new political situation. What will the General Staff do? How will the Army change?

[Lobov] Talk about the reform has been going on for quite a while; there are different opinions. I believe that the reform needs to be implemented boldly, resolutely, and quickly. But not recklessly. There are too many people involved with the Army, too much equipment and too many armaments to act thoughtlessly. As to the substance of changes, I am for a fundamental reform.

[Felgengauer] As I understand, the previous concept of military reform that was being developed in the Ministry of Defense did not envisage fundamental reforms in the Army; it was basically an attempt to optimize the old structure: to improve, to ensure, etc.

[Lobov] Yes, the optimization of the old—we can put it this way. I, for instance, believe that one of the options may be as follows: The Ministry of Defense will become a fully civilian organization and will have its own specific functions.

[Felgengauer] And be headed by a civilian?

[Lobov] Be headed by a civilian and be completely civilian.

[Felgengauer] And the General Staff will command the Army?

[Lobov] The Army should be under the command of the supreme commander in chief, who will have under him the General Staff, to which all the armed forces will be subordinated. This is one line. Another: There is a Cabinet of Ministers under the president, and the Ministry of Defense is a part of this cabinet. What will it do? Prepare youth for military service (either through contracts or draft). Deliver draftees to places of service, deal with veterans' problems, and in general handle everything related to mobilization and demobilization. Construction of military and civilian objects to meet the needs of the Army; social issues. That is, the civilian Ministry of Defense should handle all matters of supply and, on an even larger scale, of creating the military infrastructure. While the General Staff will be responsible for combat training, combat readiness, and operational uses.

[Felgengauer] Do you hope that the system of draft as the basis of general military duty can be preserved? I think it has too many opponents in the republics.

[Lobov] Yes, I hope that the new structure of the Army may sufficiently satisfy everybody, and all republics will participate in it. It is obvious, after all: A single economic space must be protected by a single defense space. The structure may be as follows: on the all-Union level—a civilian ministry of defense and the general staff. They complement each other, constantly interact, and, correspondingly, are under mutual control. The liaison and interaction will be formalized by appropriate organizational structures. The same structure is duplicated in the republics: a republic civilian ministry of defense or state committee, and the commander (or commander in chief) of the troops deployed on the territory of the republic. That is, the system of military districts, which we have inherited from Milyutin's military reform (second half of the 19th century) will undergo substantial changes. Thus, the Army will be able to directly and closely interact with the republic leadership. It is envisioned that all relations will be regulated by appropriate treaties. For instance, in regard to personnel: 60 percent of the draftees serve on the territory of their republic, and the rest—in the all-Union types of troops. So, the draft will be conducted by no one other than their own republic ministry of defense. Local authorities will have a stake in it, and it will contribute to the success of the draft under the new conditions. We need to conduct negotiations and strive for agreement. People everywhere are mostly sensible. I hope that we will be able to sign the necessary treaties soon.

[Felgengauer] Such a structure looks rather streamlined and logical; given the good will of all concerned parties participating in the creation of the new system of common security, it will be possible to reach the necessary agreements. Many republics, however, are in the process of creating—or plan to create—their national (republic) guards. What is your attitude towards this process?

[Lobov] What is needed is for the troops to wear national distinguishing insignia: emblems, symbols, and so on of the republic or territory of which they are deployed; how would they be different from the national guard—most of them will be serving on the territory of their own republic. The creation of various uncontrollable guards in cities and towns is trouble. Nevertheless, I understand the people who are engaged in the creation of the guard, and I would like to establish interaction with everybody. The General Staff must become a common center of interaction for all security forces, as many as there are in the country. This way we will be able to avoid further bloodshed.

[Felgengauer] At the press conference on 26 August, Vice President Rutskoy expressed a conviction that Russia, along with the central structures, must participate in the control and command of the nuclear weapons. What do you think about it?

[Lobov] I believe that such questions should be decided at the highest political level. However, the new structure of the armed forces that I described to you today envisages a system of mutual control.

[Felgengauer] Public opinion in the country is resolutely leaning towards a ban on nuclear testing. What does the new chief of General Staff think about it?

[Lobov] As a human being, I am categorically against it. If you follow attentively the anti-nuclear topic, you probably know that none of the Soviet people are calling for us to disarm or to lose the parity we have achieved. What we are talking about are resolute protests against thoughtless, poorly organized and prepared experiments that do not ensure ecological safety. The method of trial and error does not work here. We have already had too many trials and errors. We need to find another way. Modern international environment and the fundamental changes in relations between countries give us such an opportunity. The main point in the whole problem is a complete ban on nuclear testing and development for military purposes on the entire globe.

[Felgengauer] The country is suffering from growing inflation. Officers' real earnings are dropping. This can lead to a dangerous increase of discontent among the officers. What does the General Staff plan to do about it. Or is the indexation of military pay in accordance with the rising prices none of its business?

[Lobov] Unfortunately we tackle everything from needles to missiles, and we will resolve such issues as needed. The tragic days of August 1991 will be etched in the memory of the people for a long time. State and military leaders will draw conclusions and learn a lesson. However, I have established yet again what I have always believed. Our Soviet soldiers are selfless and loyal defenders of the Motherland. They were the ones to remain faithful to their duty as servicemen and to take a civil position. They merit a genuine change in our attitude toward people in military uniform, soldiers and officers, a change in terms of actual concern rather than declarations. First of all, this includes actually upholding their constitutional rights and social protection. This may be expressed by adopting a law to the effect that one year of service by soldiers is counted as two years of work tenure, and in some areas where, as the saying goes, the birds do not sing and the trees do not grow, one year is counted as three.

I believe that a law should be passed by the republics that would impose the obligation to place discharged soldiers and sailors in jobs and to ensure that they learn a profession free of charge if they so wish. After all, they served the Motherland free of charge, and the Motherland should help them to get on their feet in their new life. Officers should have a legal right to discontinue military service when they see fit.

The diploma of a higher service school should be equated with the diploma of a modern civilian college. It

is necessary to revise the curricula of military educational establishments and consider primarily the professional aspect of the matter, the intellectual potential, and the heredity of our Motherland. After all, our schools have modern training facilities. As a rule, strong-willed, persistent, and well-developed individuals are admitted. Higher service schools may train specialists not only for the Armed Forces but, if need be, for the national economy.

Finally, I have just learned that President Yeltsin has signed a directive concerning social protection for servicemen. I would like to take advantage of this opportunity and thank Boris Nikolayevich on behalf of the General Staff and the entire Army for his concern. Following the participation of some units in the abortive coup, the Army could expect to be punished, but the Russian president signed this remarkable ukase. It would be good for other republics to follow suit.

Moscow Military District Chief Interviewed

PM2009125391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Lieutenant General Vladimir Mikhaylovich Toporov, commander of the Moscow Military District, by correspondent Colonel A. Oliynik; place and date not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Facing Combat Training"]

[Text] As the press has reported, Lieutenant General Vladimir Mikhaylovich Toporov has been appointed commander of the Moscow Military District. Our correspondent talks with him.

[Oliynik] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, for the past two years you have headed the staff of the Far East Military District and now you are commander of the Moscow Military District. How unexpected was the appointment for you?

[Toporov] On 26 August I flew to Moscow for a few days following an urgent call and I have not yet returned. My wife and schoolboy son remain in Khabarovsk. Most probably they will make the move on their own. I cannot go to fetch my family, I have a lot of work...

Immediately after Colonel General Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Committee for Defense Questions, had presented me to the officers' collective in the district staff, I went to hear my deputies and directorate and department chiefs. I have now drawn the following conclusion: People, both in the staff and in the district troops are mainly highly trained specialists in their field, are committed to the job assigned them, and are deeply devoted to the Motherland and people. The sorry August events confirmed this most obviously. Although they were moved up to Moscow, the personnel of the Taman motorized rifle division and the Kantemir armored division did not act against the people.

[Oliynik] And nonetheless as is well known there is an investigation into the deaths of three Muscovites.

[Toporov] Unfortunately, the tragic incident did occur. Now we all realize that there should never again be situations where the troops become the tool of political antagonism within the country, where combat equipment not intended for parades goes out onto our city streets.

Despite the disruption in the planned activity of the district troops caused by the putsch, the units and subunits are continuing smoothly to fulfill their training plans and programs. The higher educational establishments have entered the new training year in an organized manner. It is true that in connection with the sharply aggravated food problem a considerable proportion of the district's servicemen are helping the agricultural workers of a number of oblasts—they are bringing in the harvest and procuring vegetables. A special operational group headed by General Ye. Mikhalko, chief of staff of the district's rear services, is operating.

[Oliynik] People with an awareness of the need for serious changes are now taking up many key posts in the Army and Navy. How do you conceive the future of the district's troops?

[Toporov] In the Defense Ministry and indeed in the republics there are many interesting ideas for making our army more mobile, well armed and trained. For instance, the idea of creating in the Armed Forces organs which would engage in the organization of combat training and the education and moral and psychological training of the personnel has met with broad support among the troops. In this connection it should be said that people have been yearning for well organized combat training, particularly for field drill and exercises.

[Oliynik] Party organizations no longer exist in the Armed Forces and military-political organs have been abolished. They had to a certain extent assumed the functions of the servicemen's social protection. In your view who will engage in this matter now?

[Toporov] Questions of the servicemen's social protection are now more topical than ever. There is a catastrophic shortage of housing, service conditions are hard, and the working day is not standardized. The country's leadership is taking steps to resolve these complex problems. The state council has adopted a decision on an increase in the pay of officers and ensigns. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has signed a ruling "on stepping up the social protection of servicemen serving on the territory of the RSFSR." Work is under way on the draft USSR laws on the country's defense and on the status of servicemen. Many problems facing people in connection with the cutback and release into the reserve must be resolved immediately. I believe that a more active part in the servicemen's social protection should be played by the public and primarily by the officers' meetings. The district leadership intends to increase their role in the life of the military collectives.

Deputy Defense Minister on Leadership Changes

91SV0090A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Sep 91 First Edition p 3

[Report on interview with Lieutenant General Yuriy Rodionov, deputy minister of defense for personnel, by TASS correspondent O. Moskovskiy; place and date not given: "On Changes in the Leadership of the USSR Ministry of Defense"]

[Text] "Nine of the 17 members of the USSR Ministry of Defense Collegium have either immediately quit their posts or have recently been dismissed from them. All these military leaders have been relieved of their duties by ukase of the USSR president." This was stated by Lieutenant General Yuriy Rodionov, deputy minister of defense for personnel and chief of the USSR Armed Forces Main Administration for Personnel. He was giving an interview to TASS correspondent O. Moskovskiy in connection with the latest changes in the leadership of the Ministry of Defense: the retirement from their posts of General of the Army Konstantin Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister, and General of the Army Viktor Yermakov, chief of the Main Administration for Personnel.

"The reasons for the removal of USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov and the commander of Ground Forces, Valentin Varennikov, from their posts are well known—they were active organizers and participants in the coup d'etat," the general emphasized.

Then Yuriy Rodionov said that the former chief of the General Staff, General of the Army Mikhail Moiseyev had been relieved of his duties at his own request and retired to the reserves for medical reasons.

According to the chief of the Main Administration for Personnel, USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense Colonel General Nikolay Shlyaga has been relieved of his duties in connection with the abolition of the USSR Armed Forces Main Political Directorate. "Now he is being examined by a medical commission in the hospital and will be retired from the Armed Forces," Yuriy Rodionov responded. He added that the USSR deputy minister of defense Colonel General Vladislav Achalov had been relieved in connection with the abolition of the post he held, and he is also in the hospital to be examined by a medical commission.

"The former Air Defense chief, General of the Army Ivan Tretyak, and the former chief of USSR Civil Defense, General of the Army Vladimir Govorov, have been retired from the Armed Forces for reasons of age," Lieutenant General Yuriy Rodionov noted.

In his opinion, the commission set up under the leadership of General of the Army Konstantin Kobets to analyze the activity of the leadership of the USSR Armed Forces during the coup "will make it possible to reveal objectively and impartially the true role of each military leader during the putsch."

General Explains Plan for Armed Forces Reform

LD2009115191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0000 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] The new military leaders in this country are determined to carry out the dramatic military reform. A reform of this kind is long overdue. Lieutenant General Valeriy Manilov, chief of the Defense Ministry Information Department, has told Radio Moscow his Ministry and the whole of the military field, for that matter, must be under civilian control.

The new defense minister, Aviation Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov offered a reform concept to Presidents Gorbachev and Yeltsin. The concept drew support from the State Council now running the nation.

General Manilov elaborates:

[Manilov is heard briefly in Russian, fading into English translation] The Union state, a federation, confederation or community as the case might be, must have a defense ministry. Unlike the past, this will be a purely civilian agency with a civilian to captain it.

The defense minister is to be subordinate to the President of the Union state and the State Council during a transition period. The President is to be Commander-in-Chief and the Ministry is to include committees—one for military policy, another for military economics, and a committee for weaponry orders and military equipment, for instance. Besides, there must be a committee for legal and social guarantees for servicemen and their families, a committee for military infrastructure, plus some subcommittees, one of them to handle ecological matters. The Armed Forces are to enjoy committee rights at the Ministry.

The project has been submitted to republics, too. What place are republics to have? General Manilov:

[Manilov, in Russian, fading into English translation] The sovereign states are to have their own parallel defense ministries. These ministries, too, must have a civilian as a leader. The functions are similar to those of the Union Defense Ministry's but at a lower level.

Unlike the Union ministry, the republican ones will have at their disposal republican units alone, republican guards for instance. The guards are to concentrate on the safety of facilities of national importance, the republican presidents, and Government facilities. The guards are to number not more than 5,000 men and to be equipped with light small arms alone. Besides, the republics are to assume responsibility for the viability of Union troops on the territory of each.

Baltic Affairs

Latvia-Estonian Border 'Almost Completed'

OW2109143091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Viktors Strikis, a spokesman for the Latvian Social Security Department, told BF [BALTFAX] that the work on establishing the Latvian-Estonian border is almost completed. Documents establishing Lithuania, Belorussia and the Russian Federation are still being prepared.

Mr. Strikis said that the Latvian Border Protection Service will be made up of volunteers (30-40), including officers and instructors of the state service, and of recruits (approximately 60). The preparation of Latvia's future border guards has already begun at the Training Center in Ventspils. For the present, it still belongs to the Soviet border troops but will soon be transferred to Latvia. Another training center operates in Halpils. Customs officers will be trained in Riga while sea border guards in Liepaja.

Gorbachev Signs Decree Discharging Servicemen

LD2109133591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has signed a decree on the discharge from active national military service of citizens called up on the territory of Lithania, Latvia, and Estonia in connection with the recognition of the independence of these republics. National servicemen called up by military commissariats on the territory of the Baltic republics will be discharged from the USSR Armed Forces, the border, internal, and railway troops in September to October of this year.

Soviet Military Activities Reported

OW2009114891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1015 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BALTFAX report from Riga quotes Latvian official sources as saying that during his meetings with the Baltic leaders Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov did not object to the withdrawal "in the future" of Soviet troops from the Baltic republics.

He emphasized, however, that the issue should be resolved at Soviet-Baltic governmental talks, not by the Soviet Defense Ministry. The press learned at a briefing in Lithuanian Parliament that active movements of military equipment had been noticed in some Lithuanian regions, for example, the Vilnius and Kuanus regions, in the evening of September 19.

BALTFAX correspondent in Vilnius notes that there is an agreement on advance notification of all movements of military equipment between the Lithuanian leadership and the command of the Baltic Military District. No notification had been made on Thursday.

Estonia

Russians Concerned Over Citizenship Law

OW2009144691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Activists of a number of Russian-speaking prodemocracy organizations in Estonia, including the Russian Democratic Movement and the Russian Culture Society, have appealed to the Estonian and Russian parliaments and the UN secretary-general, in connection with the increasingly strong tensions over Estonian citizenship.

The appeal expresses concern over "the growing pressure from the National Radicals who have been trying, by both parliamentary and non-parliamentary means, to push through the discriminatory law on citizenship."

The law in question is based on the suggestion by the National Independence Party, the Society for the Protection of Historical Monuments, and the Civil Committee of Estonia, that Estonian citizenship should be granted automatically to the citizens of the Estonian Republic of 1918-40 and their direct descendants. Acquisition of Estonian citizenship by the rest of the Estonian residents should be made dependent on residence qualifications, loyalty, knowledge of the Estonian language, etc.

"No civil concord could be attained by a society in which a sizeable section of the population would have the status of non-citizens," says the appeal. The authors warn that passing a discriminatory law of this kind may destabilize the social situation in Estonia and lead to the republic's political and economic isolation in the international arena.

Savisaar Visit to Kazakhstan Reported

OW2109143891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar met with his Kazakh counterpart Uzakbai Karamanov in Alma-Ata September 21. They agreed to set up by October 10 joint commissions for the preparation of draft agreements between the two republics for 1992. Mr. Savisaar and Mr. Karamanov signed a number of documents on economic and financial relations, mutual investment, concerted actions to develop transport and communications, as well as on customs policy.

At a news conference shortly after the meeting the two prime ministers announced plans to set up several joint Kazakh-Estonian ventures with Estonian investment into Kazakhstan's mining industry and the Kazakh investment into Estonia's manufacturing industry. The two republics agreed to conduct trade in rubles at contractual prices close to world ones.

Mr. Karamanov expressed hope that Estonia will take part in a meeting of the leaders of 15 former Union's republics to be held in Alma-Ata on the initiative of Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev from September 30 to October 1.

On September 22 the Estonian delegation will travel to Bishkek where Edgar Savisaar will meet with Kyrghyzstan's President Askar Akayev and Prime Minister Nasirdin Isanov.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Azerbaijan

LD2009232591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] The Baltic news service reports that this morning Estonian government leader Edgar Savisaar and Azerbaijani Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov met in Toompea. They discussed cooperation between the two states, and an agreement on trade, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation between Estonia and Azerbaijan was signed. Talks between Estonian and Azerbaijani representatives will continue. It is expected that during the sixth Tallinn conference a working protocol will be signed by the material resources ministers on specific implementation of both the given agreement, as well as agreements achieved at other talks between the prime ministers.

Latvia

Shaposhnikov Comments on Army Withdrawal

LD2009161291 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0430 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov had a meeting yesterday [18 September] in Riga with the head of the Latvian Government, Ivars Godmanis, to discuss questions conerning the temporary presence in Latvia of the Soviet Army. The minister also came to Latvia on a working visit to the—for the time being—Baltic Military District. Minister Shaposhnikov has indicated that the dates of the Army withdrawal have to be determined by the newly formed bilateral Latvian-Soviet commission.

[Begin Shaposhnikov recording in Russian fading to Latvian translation] The purpose of my visit is to discuss conditions of the temporary stay of the Soviet Armed Forces during the transitional period. I want to reply also to the questions put by the government of Latvia, and to put my questions. I want to emphasize that at the present moment we have all the opportunities for solving all the questions put by the Latvian side, and also of those of interest to the Soviet Armed Forces, in a civilized and mutually interested manner.

We have experience in talks with former potential opponents—the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany—on successfully solving, for example, the questions of strategic weapons reduction and Army withdrawal. I think that those ties of friendship at the foundations of cooperation of the last 50 years have not disappeared without a trace, and this will help. [end recording]

Asked whether the minister has formed for himself a notion on the possible dates of withdrawal of the Army, Shaposhnikov replied that this question would be decided by the new inter-governmental commission.

[Begin Shaposhnikov recording in Russian fading to Latvian translation] The competence of the minister himself includes, after that, only to ensure the technical side of withdrawal of the Army. The contacts until now with the Government of Latvia cause one to think that it will be possible to successfully solve all questions in this connection. [end recording]

In conclusion, the minister confirmed that in the event the talks in Vienna on Army reductions are crowned with success, then the Soviet Union definitely will reduce the numerical strength of the Army. That much the Soviet defense minister said in the interview given yesterday to the government information service.

Gorbunovs Seen as Leading Presidential Candidate

OW2009183391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1545 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian newspaper NEATKORIGA TSINJA has carried out an opinion poll among its readers to find out who is seen as the chief presidential candidate in the republic. Eighty percent of the respondents named the current head of Latvia's Supreme Council Anatolijs Gorbunovs, and 9 percent said they preferred Ivars Godmanis, the prime minister.

The Latvian Popular Front has the highest popularity rating (69 percent) among the public organizations, folloved by the National Independence Movement of Latvia (17 percent).

Reorganization of Banking Institutions Begins

PM2009145391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 91 Moscow Edition p 2

[Irina Litvinova report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Banks Transfer to Latvian Ownership"]

[Text] Riga—A reorganization of the banking system has begun in Latvia. Decisions of the Latvian Supreme

Soviet have transferred the property of USSR banks on the republic's territory to the ownership of the Latvian Republic.

The Bank of Latvia has assumed ownership of the republic bank of the USSR State Bank and its computer center, the republic encashment administration, the republic commercial bank for foreign economic activity, the Riga Accounting and Credit Technical College, and other banking structures of the USSR. The republic bank of the USSR Savings Bank has been transformed into the State Savings Bank of the Latvian Republic.

It is reported that interested foreign states (including the USSR) and their banks may lodge property claims with the Bank of Latvia through 1 December 1991. They will be examined by the Bank of Latvia and the government before 1 January 1992.

Supreme Soviet Deputy Einars Repse has been confirmed as president of the Bank of Latvia.

Lithuania

Landsbergis May Meet Polish Leaders

OW2009113991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1015 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BALTFAX has learned from the Lithuanian parliament press service that the plane aboard which Landsbergis was returning from New York to Vilnius made a stopover in Cracow, not Warsaw as previously planned, due to bad weather. This worsens the chances of a meeting with Polish leaders to discuss the situation of the Polish minority in Lithuania.

Lithuanian parliament's press aide Ajubalis said at the briefing that "whether this meeting takes place or not depends on the initiative of the Polish side."

According to him, no formal meeting had been planned between Mr. Landsbergis and the Polish leaders, but it had been announced in advance that Mr. Landsbergis would make brief stopovers en route to New York and back. Lithuania hoped that the Polish leaders would view the announcement as an invitation to a meeting.

The Lithuanian parliament's press aide noted that when Mr. Landsbergis left for the USA last Sunday, all he received in Warsaw was a brief note from the Polish president that expressed concern over the destiny of Lithuania's Polish community.

Commenting on the contents of the letter, Mr. Landsbergis claimed that the Polish president had been misled as to the position of the Polish minority in the Lithuanian republic.

Lately, the Lithuanian parliament decided to dissolve local governments at Shalnichinkai and Vilnius regions, area with a large Polish population. The Lithuanian authorities accused the region's leaders of having supported the Emergency Committee during the coup attempt.

'Ready To Meet' Walesa

LD2009010791 Warsaw PAP in English 2236 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] New York, Sept. 19—Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis said on Wednesday that he is ready to meet with President Lech Walesa.

Landsbergis as well as President of Estonia Arnold Ruutel and of Latvia Anatolijs Gorbunovs, accompanied by foreign ministers of those countries, took part in a reception for the leaders of the Baltic states given by the Polish Consulate General in New York on Wednesday evening.

Speaking to newsmen at the reception, Landsbergis said he is ready to meet with Lech Walesa, but the holding of such meeting depends on the Polish president, stressed he.

Referring to the controversial issue of granting Lithuanian citizenship to Poles living in that country only after they sign a declaration of loyalty, President Landsbergis said that such requirement will embrace all national minorities, adding that Poles may have, private, higher schools.

Commenting on the recent decision of the Lithuanian authorities to dissolve Polish local governments in the Vilnius and Solechniki Regions, Landsbergis stated that Poles will be able to elect new local governments and get rid of all those who supported the Moscow coup during local election expected to take place in six months time.

The reception was attended by U.N. diplomats, including Ambassadors of the U.S. and the USSR to the U.N. Thomas Pickering and Yuliy Vorontsov, New York's Mayor David Dinkins, as well as representatives of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian emigree milieus.

No 'Special Impasse' Seen

LD2009194191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Interview with President Vytautas Landsbergis by unidentified correspondent in Warsaw on 20 September; first paragraph announcer introduction—recorded]

[Text] Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis stopped over in Warsaw on his return to Lithuania from New York. I do not see any special impasse in Polish-Lithuanian relations, he said:

[Correspondent] Don't you want to meet President Walesa?

[Landsbergis] As always.

[Correspondent] But, are you waiting for an invitation from the Polish side? Or has the Lithuanian side already received some kind of proposal?

[Landsbergis] As I am here, passing through, some kind of proposal could be made.

[Correspondent] Are you waiting for a proposal from the Polish side for such a meeting with Lech Walesa?

[Landsbergis] I must remind you how we spoke about this on the phone, when he greeted us and when we also spoke nicely about a possible meeting. (?It was not a paradox).

[Correspondent] You have said that you will reply to President Walesa's letter. When?

[Landsbergis] I must return home and quietly sit at a table and write a reply.

[Correspondent] What could be the greatest obstacle in Polish-Lithuanian relations?

[Landsbergis] Misunderstandings that could always occur. Perhaps someone is specially creating [word indistinct] misunderstanding.

[Correspondent] What kind of misunderstanding?

[Landsbergis] Some kind of political problems concerning the independence of Lithuania and creating obstacles by serving the Kremlin or [word indistinct] and they will show as a nationality or ethnic problem.

Parliament Area Mined; KGB Papers Removed

OW2009183191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1545 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text]

APPROACHES TO LITHUANIAN PARLIAMENT STILL A MINEFIELD

According to the Lithuanian nevspaper RESPUBLIKA, some approaches to the republic's parliament are still mined. The mines were planted by the National Security Department during the first hours of the August coup, when the military were expected to storm the parliament building. At present, they are not dangerous to people because the minefield's system of remote control has been disconnected from power sources. The parliament is still surrounded by anti-tank "hedge-hogs", barricades and ditches in view of the continued presence in the republic of "foreign troops"—whose status is yet to be defined by special agreements between the USSR and Lithuania.

K.G.B. DOCUMENTS SECRETLY TAKEN AWAY

The newspaper RESPUBLIKA also says that in violation of the government instruction, officers of the Lithuanian National Defense Department have been "secretly carrying away documents" from the ex-KGB headquarters in Vilnius.

The paper cites two such occurrences and expresses the view that the documents are taken away either to be destroyed or else to be used as an instrument of blackmail.

The KGB ceased to operate in Lithuania on August 23, but its 700 workers have never been officially dismissed and their "working books" are still kept in the KGB building.

A special commission has been busy making an inventory of the property vithin the KGB headquarters. The commission head, MP [member parliament] Baliys Gaiauskas, says there is an agreement to hand over the coding equipment to the Soviet side, since there is a single coding system on the USSR territory.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Still Suffering From 'Heart Problems'

AU2109135191 Paris AFP in English 1328 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sep 21 (AFP) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin was taken ill with heart trouble for the third time in a week Saturday [21 September] while on a visit to the republic of Azerbaijan to mediate in an ethnic conflict, the Azeri news agency ASSA-IRADA said. Yeltsin, who has a history of heart trouble, was forced to cancel meetings in Moscow on Wednesday and Thursday because of cardiac problems and doctors had advised him not to travel to Azerbaijan, according to the Russian news agency RIA.

The Azeri agency quoted informed sources as reporting "a worsening in the health" of Yeltsin, who arrived late Friday in the republic's capital Baku and was to have gone on to Nagorno-Karabakh, a disputed mainly Armenian enclave of Azerbaijan.

Yeltsin now planned to remain in Baku and meet there with delegations from the Armenian and Azeri communities of Nagorno- Karabakh, an autonomous region where ethnic clashes have killed 1,000 people in the past four years.

Meanwhile "the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is extremely tense," the agency said, adding that by noon, more than 10,000 people had gathered in the region's capital Stepanakert to welcome Yeltsin.

ASSA-IRADA said nothing about a trip Yeltsin was to have made late Saturday to the Armenian capital Yerevan and talks scheduled there Sunday with Armenian leaders on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

Earlier in the day, Yeltsin held talks with the president of Azerbaijan, Ayaz Mutalibov, who restated Azerbaijan's refusal to give up the Armenian enclave.

"Under no circumstances" would the republic agree to the region's being put under Armenian jurisdiction, the unofficial news agency INTERFAX quoted him as saying. Mutalibov added that Azerbaijan had no territorial claims against Armenia.

Yeltsin said: "The main thing was that the negotiation process has begun," adding "It goes without saying, I'm fully aware that this process will not be straightforward and will take time."

Yeltsin was being assisted in his mediation efforts by the president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazabayev. Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov was also expected in Baku during the day, while Interior Minister Viktor Barannikov arrived Thursday.

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev To Arrive in Baku 20 Sep

LD1909213191 Moscow Radio Rossi Network in Russian 2100 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] The presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan will arrive in Baku today [20 September]. Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayaev are to meet the Azerbaijan leadership. They will start a dialogue on Sunday with the Armenian leaders.

Urges Talks With Leaders

LD2009224391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 20 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] No one today should openly fear calling what is occurring in Karabakh civil war. The Armenian leader says Gorbachev will sign a decree on Karabakh in the next few days. Ter-Petrosyan called this a step toward resolving the problem. However, the Azerbaijani leadership says that such a decree would be interference in the republic's internal affairs. Yeltsin and Nazarbayev today flew to Karabakh. Observers doubt the effectiveness of this trip, but Yeltsin's apparat stresses that it is of a familiarizing nature. This is what Boris Yeltsin said before boarding his plane:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] We do not intend to interfere in the decisions of sovereign states—this is their affair—but to consult with the leaders of the supreme soviets and to speak with the people, and then, possibly, to find a path of some kind toward talks. However, to begin a negotiation process which will lead to a peace settlement—this is our main task, if it can be achieved. The law, our Russian law, is being violated, which forbids actions against the civilian population anywhere, outside the boundaries of Russia. This law is being violated both by the Soviet Army and by the Internal Troops of the Internal Affairs Ministry. Our Russian lads are dying. This is also equally my Russian concern, as a president who should protect those who are situated in or are called up to Russia and are now serving outside its boundaries. [end recording]

Departs on Mediation Mission

AU2109104691 Paris AFP in English 0938 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sep 21 (AFP)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Saturday began a mediation mission in Azerbaijan in the dispute with Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh as the Azeri leadership restated its refusal to give up the enclave.

Azerbaijan's President Ayaz Mutalibov reiterated that "under no circumstances" would Azerbaijan accept the contested region being transferred to Armenian jurisdiction, the unofficial news agency INTERFAX reported Saturday. Nagorno-Karabakh is an autonomous region within Azerbaijan but its majority Armenian population

has been clamouring for it to be attached to Armenia. The increasingly bitter dispute has claimed many more than 1,000 lives in the past four years.

Mutalibov told journalists in the Azerbaijan capital Baku that Azerbaijan had no territorial claims whatsover against Armenia.

For his part Yeltsin said that "the main thing was that the negotiation process has begun". "It goes without saying, I'm fully aware that this process will not be straightforward and will take time", he said. He indicated that the withdrawal of Soviet troops deployed on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan would depend "entirely on the goodwill of these republics. If there is no need for the soldiers to be there, we are ready to pull them out in a week."

Yeltsin was speaking in the name of the State Council, the interim collegial leadership of the Soviet Union, regrouping the presidents of the republics and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Yeltsin was being assisted in his mediation efforts by the president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazabayev, who also arrived in Baku on Friday night. The Soviet defence minister, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, was also expected in Baku on Saturday, while Interior Minister Viktor Barannikov arrived on Thursday.

TASS news agency reported that the three-way talks between Yeltsin, Nazarbayev and Mutalibov began on Saturday morning.

The Kazakhstan president emphasised that his and Yeltsin's role was to "maintain a negotiating table for the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan."

"It would be naive to expect rapid results from this trip. The process of reconciliation will be complex and long: this is a fact which must be recognised. A mediator is someone who stays in the middle and helps the two sides to meet and reach agreement", he said.

Yeltsin and Nazarbayev were due to visit Nagorno-Karabakh on Tuesday before going on to Yerevan, the Armenian capital.

Fourth Supreme Soviet Session Continues 23 Sep

Adopts Decree on Prisoners

LD2009222691 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The Russian Federation Supreme Council today adopted a decree that preparation for negotiations about the release of Soviet servicemen should urgently be resumed in Afghanistan and Pakistan with the participation of the Soviet Foreign Ministry in connection with the fact that arms supplies to Afghanistan by the USSR end as of January 1, 1992.

The decree says that "an appropriate agreement with Afghan Mojaheeds and foreign representatives should be promptly concluded for the purpose".

The mothers and relatives of missing servicemen, in the address to deputies of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet circulated in the House of Soviets, protested against the fact that the joint Soviet-American statement on Afghanistan signed in September says nothing about the fate of the missing servicemen.

Approving the decision to end Soviet military deliveries to Kabul, the signatories to the address objected to the fact that the termination of Soviet military deliveries was not made conditional upon the release of Soviet servicemen from captivity.

They demanded that this provision be included in an agreement with Mojaheeds and threatened to begin fasting near the White House on September 25 unless this is done.

Discusses POW's in Afghanistan

LD2009223791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1946 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Remarks by acting Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov and Deputy Ion Andronov at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 20 September; from the "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Khasbulatov] Let's go on to the next question, on Afghanistan. Who is ready to speak on this? Go ahead, please, Ion Ionovich. Give us your report. Please pay attention.

[Andronov] Esteemed Ruslan Imranovich, esteemed comrades. Throughout our country today, hundreds of families whose children—or rather sons—have disappeared in Afghanistan are awaiting the decision that you are now going to adopt. A draft decision of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet on Soviet POW's in Afghanistan and neighboring countries has been distributed to you. This is a difficult subject for me to discuss. I have already said quite a lot about it here—not only yesterday, but also at our first Congress and subsequently. I have been calling on you, the Russian parliament, to help liberate our POW's. [passage omitted]

We spent nine years at war in Afghanistan. For eight of these years we kept completely silent about the existence of our POW's; we hushed up the problem completely. We concealed the existence of this problem, as we did many other things connected with the war. But that's not all. We also doomed our POW's to a completely wretched fate. They had no future, no hope. Many of them perished. Most of them were kept in pits. At the beginning, the POW's were quite simply killed. Later

they began to be kept as bargaining chips for talks with the Soviet Union, for applying pressure on it. Only in the last year of the war did the press manage, with great difficulty, to report for the first time that we had POW's there and that they had to be rescued. There was a very strong public reaction—an explosion of sympathy, anger, and indignation over the Soviet Government's conduct in this matter.

The famous Geneva peace agreements on Afghanistan were signed at the same time that these revelations came out, in spring 1988. These set a timetable for the withdrawal of our forces from Aghanistan, the stages for the withdrawal, and procedures for the return of Afghan refugees, for their resettlement back home. Comrades, these agreements did not include a single line or a single word about our POW's. Nothing was said about them. Those of you who experienced the war in Afghanistan—some of you seated here—know that our POW's, the ones who landed in this hell and then ended up in this terrible captivity, were mostly kids who had just left school. For a second time they were abandoned by our government to their fate. Unfortunately, this is the way such things are traditionally handled. If you now come to their assistance, you will be helping not just those who have survived, not just the unfortunate and suffering families, you will be putting an end to yet another aspect of Stalinism, this frightful way of treating POW's that happens in no other country.

We have seen how the Americans, having ended military actions in Iraq, issued an ultimatum to Saddam Husayn; within two days they said that they would renew military actions and go for Baghdad, and within two days they received all their prisoners. But we, up to now, cannot get them, because the Geneva agreements have delivered nothing. And, by the same token, signing the Geneva agreements, the other parties—the United States, Pakistan, the United Nations—were in no way obliged to us, were not obliged to participate in saving prisoners of war, although they respect the Geneva convention on prisoners of war and care a great deal about their own. We were forced to set up feeble public organizations, organizations of mothers of prisoners of war; and simply to go ourselves, to beg, to wear out doorsteps, even to obtain hard currency and go off there, to Kabul, to Islamabad, and to Peshawar, and simply to beg the mujahidin to release our prisoners.

But there was always the same answer. They say: You also have prisoners. Thousands of our people are in Najibollah's prisons; masses of ours have also been killed. You killed 1.5 million of our people. We also have mothers, also have families. Stop killing us.

That was the main demand. Give up all the prisoners in Kabul. Stop killing us. The main thing. Do not tell us that the war is over. For you the war is over, they say. Not for us. Your missiles, bombs, shells, you are continuing ... and indeed, we are continuing... with our terrible weapons, those Scuds that were operating in Iraq; we are striking areas and we are continuing to kill them. The hatred toward us Russians, comrades, is so great in Peshawar that if one carelessly starts speaking Russian there, although there is no one to talk to there, then one may simply get a bullet in the forehead, right here; because there are fallen in every family, there are cripples in every family.

So, it was necessary to search for some kind of opportunity. I repeat, the last trip was carried out on the direct instruction of Boris Nikolayevich, last autumn. And they finally agreed—their government, which we do not recognize—to send that delegation and to start negotiations. They did not set any conditions, but it was imagined—this was said, as it were, only not officially—we stop killing them, stop the supplies, they give our prisoners of war in exchange.

For a whole year it was impossible to carry this out, because the KGB was categorically opposed. Not the whole of the KGB, but Kryuchkov. I will not tell you the details of all this. I have documents, I have the facts, if you want them. They even listened to all the conversations with Boris Nikolayevich, and the following day everything that was undertaken on this was wrecked. And it was only with Kryuchkov's arrest that the chief obstacle was removed and a chance opened up.

And our Foreign Ministry—everything here was drawn up by Kozyrev; Lukin, the chairman of the international affairs committee; and Kunadze, Kozyrev's deputy, with my participation. We went to the Foreign Ministry and asked them as quickly as possible, immediately, to conclude jointly with us an agreement, an accord, whereby we would cease supplies [to Afghanistan]. And it doesn't end at that. We supply hundreds of tonnes of flour, sugar, and butter there—the sort of things that in Vladimir oblast mothers cannot buy for their children, even for coupons. We offered to halt supplies, and they would hand back our prisoners. We got the reply, yes.

A document for the USSR foreign minister was prepared with our involvement. I can show you. And he told Lukin that everything was in order, and it would soon be announced. But instead of that, they just announced a halt to Soviet military supplies to Afghanistan. That is a good thing. But we did not get from these people... the mujahidin take a very hard line. They have not forgotten or forgiven us anything. They won't hand them back just like that. We lost the opportunity.

What I am asking you for now is for our people to be dispatched there urgently to seek an agreement with them. We still have a certain chance of doing so. And this has to be done by people... perhaps diplomats will now go out. Previously we were banking on unofficial representatives, because if a diplomat of ours traveled to Peshawar to the mujahidin headquarters and held talks with them, this would have been like an oblique diplomatic recognition. Mediators were needed. Such mediators—perhaps two or three will go—are still needed. A mujahidin delegation is planning to come here; but not from all the groups, just from four groups. The main

group is the Hikmatyar group, which has the majority of our prisoners. He does not want to come at this time. I have held talks with him on numerous occasions. Agreement is possible, but this has to be done as quickly as possible, because it will all run into the sand. It will all be over, and our people will stay behind.

The most important thing, comrades, is that we must put an end to this way of treating prioners. This is a question of human rights, of our consciences. A civilized country cannot consider that a war is over until it has got its soldiers back from captivity. I make this plea yet again. Do what you like, so to speak. I am not a theoretician; I am not an important legislator. Do what you want. There are a large number of lawyers here who are constantly making these amendments. Well, make any amendments you want. But do not deprive these families of hope, the hope that we may be able to do something for them now.

[Khasbulatov] Good. Thank you, Ion Ionovich. [passage omitted] Well, as you were speaking, I was thinking about Surkov's criticism. In the first place, I think there should be two points to the decision. The first should remain as it is, except for the words "from the USSR."

Listen carefully to point two; this is how it goes: The RSFSR Foreign Ministry is to resume as a priority, in conjunction with the USSR Foreign Ministry, preparations in Afghanistan and Pakistan for talks on the release of Soviet POW's. To this end, a corresponding agreement should be concluded as soon as possible with the Afghan mujahidin and foreign representatives. That's more succinct, isn't it? The previous reference to the agreement was a bit long-winded, although the basic idea was there. This is more succinct. This agreement should be totally devoted to the question of liberating the POW's. [passage omitted]

I ask you to vote. It's passed. Thank you, Ion Ionovich.

To Review Laws, Candidates, Names

LD2209112591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] It is planned that issues on the lawmaking activities of the committees and commissions will be examined at the regular session of the presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet tomorrow, 23 September. The discussion on the regulations and timetable for the carrying out of elections to the supreme soviets of the Adyge, Karachayevo-Cherkess, Gorno-Altay, and Khakass Soviet Socialist Republics in the RSFSR is also planned. The discussion of the proposal put forward by the preparatory commission on candidacies of RSFSR people's deputies for the parliament of the country is planned. Also on the agenda of the session are issues of restoring the historic name of Yekaterinburg to Sverdlovsk and the renaming of the town of Zagorsk and of the Zagorskiy Rayon of Moscow Oblast to Sergiyev Posad and Sergiyevo Posadskiy Rayon.

Members To Meet in Committees

LD2309041991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0300 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] According to a report by the press service of the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, members of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet will work in committees and commissions today.

Incidentally, the question of law-making activity, among other things, will be on the agenda of a routine session of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. It will also take place today.

Stepankov Cites Progress of Coup Investigation

LD2009155691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Tamara Zamyatina and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep (TASS)—Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Procurator General Valentin Stepankov reported today that part of the investigative group looking into the matter of the state coup of 19-21 August has gone to Foros (Crimea) where the USSR president's dacha is situated. They are to conduct an investigative experiment in Foros: They are to retrospectively recreate the events of those days, including how the isolation of the president and his guard took place, and to study the mechanism by which communications were cut off, he said in conversation with TASS correspondents.

In the words of Stepankov, the preparatory work for this experiment has already been carried out. "We are not, of course, inviting the president there," he added.

Concerning the conditions under which the former putschists are being detained, the procurator general of Russia stated: "According to Russian law, people cannot be held in single cells; therefore they are with other prisoners, but the best possible conditions have been provided for their detention. These conditions are the usual ones: There are two bunk-beds in each cell, and there are only two or three people in each cell. They have not complained about any systematic checks."

According to him, the accused are as a rule dressed in sports gear and their meals are in accordance with "the norms specified for investigative isolation." With regard to their state of health, some of them receive dietary food—this consists of extra white bread and butter, Stepankov reported. They also receive parcels from home in accordance with regulations.

The procurator general also said that the accused are not allowed visits, but "they have the opportunity to work with their lawyers alone, and they are making use of this."

Commenting on the assertion by the lawyers of the accused that there are no articles in the legislation that can be laid to the charge of the putschists, Stepankov said that this question "is in effect resolved by the introduction into the criminal code in 1961 of Article 64 on betrayal of the motherland, under which they stand accused." "We can argue as to what extent the concept of 'motherland' is correctly interpreted, but the objective side of their actions is reflected in the article," he added.

The procurator general maintained that in the case of the coup d'etat, the country's population "is being informed to the maximum extent, as in no other case." At the same time he drew attention to the fact that the law does not provide for the actual process of investigation being made public. He also promised that "everything revealed during the course of the investigation will be presented to the lawyers and their clients for study."

In Stepankov's opinion, no more than two months is now required to complete the investigation in the case of the coup d'etat.

Silayev Appointed Head of Economic Committee

LD2009185191 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev has appointed Ivan Silayev chairman of the Interrepublican Economic Committee.

The decree was signed by the president today.

To Remain Prime Minister

LD2109104391 Moscow TASS in English 0823 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS observer Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Friday appointed Ivan Silayev chairman of the Interrepublican Economic Committee.

"Our main goal is to create maximum favourable conditions for republics and help them solve their problems and carry out their economic reforms. We must help them," Silayev told TASS.

He stressed the need for a working mechanism to make decisions promptly. The mechanism will be based on commissions supervising key spheres in republics and the country. The commissions will include representatives of all republics participating in the economic agreement. They will be chosen by their age, skills and democratic views.

"We need an alloy of the youth's experience and enterprise in the very responsible state sense. I am sure, we will have both," Silayev said.

Speaking about his possible resignation from the post of the Russian prime minister, Silayev said "until an economic agreement is signed and new leaders appointed, I will remain on my post as head of the Russian Government and the interim government."

Possible Silayev Successor Interviewed

LD2009171591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Since Russian Premier Ivan Silayev has agreed to head the interrepublican economic committee, the possible candidates to succeed him in the Russian Government are again being vigorously discussed. About ten names are rumored to be circulating, including Khasbulatov; Skokov and Lobov, Silayev's deputies; and Petrov, head of the Russian president's administration. Among the more or less unexpected and interesting candidates there is the well-known ophthalmologist Professor Svyatoslav Fedorov. IZVESTIYA correspondent Berger decided to follow up this version and contacted Svyatoslav Nikolayevich. Fedorov said that Russian President Boris Yeltsin phoned him at the end of last week and asked how he would like such an offer. Fedorov answered that he is prepared to consider this offer if his program is adopted. Yeltsin replied that he will discuss this with Gorbachev. Svyatoslav Fedorov said at conversation's end: I would like for the lords and ladies of our country to enjoy a good life and for those who were persecuting them to have a difficult one.

Rutskoy Urges Faster Conversion of Arms Factories

AU2009143391 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 20-21 Sep 91 p 9

[Report by Bernd Ziesemer: "Far-Reaching Economic Reform Must Ensure the Victory of Democracy"]

[Text] Moscow, 19 September—Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy is determined to definitely abolish the "mad economic system" in the Soviet Union. In an interview with HANDELSBLATT and WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE, Boris Yeltsin's deputy said that the conversion of arms factories to civilian production is particularly important. So far, there can be no talk about genuine conversion, despite all the propaganda. He said that 70 percent of Soviet industry works for the Soviet Army.

Yeltsin has asked the 44-year-old Rutskoy to deal in particular with the most urgent economic problems of the largest Soviet republic. The former professional soldier, twice "Hero of the Soviet Union," also heads a newly founded "Committee for the Defense of Russia's Economic Interests."

The Russian vice president considers "solving the food problems most important." He says that a large part of the harvest is rotting in the fields. Therefore, Russia plans to import foreign machinery for small agricultural production enterprises. Rutskoy says that he has already contacted foreign, including German, companies to help boost the Russian foodstuffs industry.

Central Economic Body of All Soviet Republics Planned [subhead]

The Yeltsin confidant advocates a "new union of sovereign states" on the territory of the Soviet empire. In his view, the Soviet Union has "totally disintegrated." However, a new union government is no longer necessary, stresses Rutskoy: "We do not need a center commanding an army of 18 million bureaucrats any more." Instead, the professional military pilot advocates the proposal submitted by economic expert Grigoriy Yavlinskiy to set up a central economic committee of all former Soviet republics.

According to Rutskoy, the highest organ of the remaining Soviet Union should be the State Council, which was set up recently. Rutskoy says that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has no right to continue to impose "dictatorial decisions" against the republics. All republics must be represented in the State Council on the basis of equality. The vice president says that Russia does not claim to "play the role of big brother" toward the smaller Soviet republics. However, the Russian Federation is not likely to be outvoted in the State Council, says Rutskoy: "Tact would rule that out."

Russia intends to place its economic relations with the other republics on new bases. Rutskoy: "We cannot be satisfied with the fact that economically, Russia lags behind the Baltics and the Ukraine." After all, 90 percent of all Soviet energy resources and raw materials are on Soviet territory.

Russia continues to be ready to supply the other republics with crude oil at cheap prices. "Basically, we would have the right to ask the other republics to pay world market prices," stresses Rutskoy. However, for the time being, only those former Soviet republics will have to pay for Russian oil in hard currency, which do not join the planned economic union—probably the Baltic states. While Rutskoy stresses the necessity of a "new union," he makes it quite clear that "Russia could also survive alone, if the USSR were to cease to exist, and if no economic union were to be set up." The Russian Federation has all the resources allowing it to lead a better life in the future, if only "the rule of ideology" in the economy is terminated. According to Rutskoy, there are already encouraging signals of increasing economic activities. However, the Russian province has lagged behind developments in Moscow and St. Petersburg: "The people in the province are used to a party official deciding everything," says Rutskoy.

In Rutskoy's words, Yeltsin is determined to introduce a "system of presidential administration" in Russia. Authorized representatives of the president are supposed to fill the political vacuum in the individual regions. Such a vacuum has been created everywhere since "the CPSU offices were sealed," says Rutskoy. All democratic forces must understand that far-reaching reforms are being started "now." Following the "three-day democratic revolution" in August, a "creeping revolution" in the economy is now taking place. "Democracy will have definitely won if the shelves in the shops are full and there is housing for everyone," stresses the Russian vice president.

Russian National Guard Enlistment Begins 19 Sep

LD1909112891 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—"The enlistment to the National Guard of Russia is being carried out without restrictions," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENCE GAZETTE) reports today. The personnel of the future National Guard is expected to number 3,000.

"Before the National Guard is legislatively instituted, organisers prefer to refrain from speaking on the principles of its organisation," the newspaper points out. "This will be, supposedly, a light, mobile unit after the pattern of a marine corps".

It will be subordinated only to the president of Russia and its task will be "to defend the constitutional system of Russia within the boundaries of Moscow". "A competitive selection of guardsmen will be arranged after the Guard has been founded juridically," the newspaper writes in conclusion.

Local Affairs

Group Begins Campaign To Rename St Petersburg

OW2009120591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1000 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The public committee called "In Defence of Leningrad" is launching a campaign for returning Lenin's name to St. Petersburg. The committee issued a statement pointing out that the name of St. Petersburg "crosses out the glorious historic merits of Lenin's city".

As IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent was told by committee members, the campaign in defence of Leningrad will be carried out "intensively and throughout the country". It will include a collection of signatures to petitions to be sent to Russia's leadership, meetings and demonstrations involving war and labor veterans.

Legislators Insist on Komissarov for Police Post

LD1909175691 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksandr Mineyev]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Russian parliamentarians today sided with the Moscow City Council in its conflict with Moscow's mayor concerning the appointment of the Moscow police force chief. Close to

the end of the afternoon session the parliament voted to make it binding on the Russian Republic's president to see to it that the Moscow council resolution appointing General Komissarov chief of the Moscow Internal Affairs Department be fulfilled.

General Komissarov was one of the two contenders for the post, himself as the nominee of Russia's democratic forces and General Myrikov as the appointee of the Soviet central authorities.

During last month's coup Myrikov took the side of the plotters.

As the two men were contesting the post, changes occurred in the structure and status of Russia's internal affairs bodies, Mayor Popov of Moscow appointed to the post a man known as a leader of the democratic movement but not a career officer, Arkadiy Murashev.

Several deputies of the Moscow City Council began a fast of protest. Two of them are now hospitalized in grave condition.

The issue of the Moscow militia leader, as well as a more general issue of Moscow's legal status, was put on the agenda of the Russian parliament as high priority items at the insistence of deputies. Moscow's legal status would be discussed later, after the current reform of the republic's government is completed.

N. Ossetian Parliament Appeals to Yeltsin

LD2209121191 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz September 22 TASS—An address by the presidium of the North Ossetian parliament to President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation was circulated by North Ossetian news organisation today.

The address reads in particular: "The Presidium of the North Ossetian parliament is deeply concerned over the tragic development of events in the Republic of Georgia and South Ossetia.

"You know that the conflict broke out in November 1990 when Georgian militants virtually occupied Leningori, Znauri and Tskhinvali Districts while Tskhinvali and Dzhava District found themselves in the grip of a full economic blockade.

"Already at that time the situation in North Ossetia became sharply aggravated. While experiencing serious difficulties in the supply of food and prime necessities, the republic extended a helping hand to the autonomous region.

"Hoping for solutions to these and other problems, the leadership of the republic repeatedly addressed the president of the USSR and the central parliament. However, decrees by the president of the USSR and central parliament resolutions were not implemented, unfortunately.

"The situation was alleviated to a large extent by moral and material support from the leadership of the Russian Federation, as well as from Russia's many territories and regions that provided humanitarian aid for South Ossetia.

"Your participation, Boris Nikolayevich, in talks with Zviad Gamsakhurdia in the spring of this year and the passage of a resolution by Russia's Congress of People's Deputies 'On the Situation in South Ossetia' brought nearer the possibility of a political settlement of the conflict.

"In the present unstable situation in the country when the traditional power structures are breaking up, the peoples of the North Ossetian republic, the South Ossetian autonomous region and members of more than 100 nationalities set hopes on your prestige and on your determination to defend the dignity of the individual and the rights of ethnic minorities.

"We fully solidarise with the political evaluation of the situation by the Russian parliament committees in the 'Statement on the Situation in the Republic of Georgia'."

"Considering the fact that in North Ossetia there are tens of thousands of refugees from South Ossetia and Georgia, we request you to consider and decide on matters aimed at giving additional financial and material help to our republic."

"The presidium of the North Ossetian parliament," the address says in conclusion, "is asking you to take the initiative in arranging talks with the leadership of the Republic of Georgia with a view to stabilising the situation in South Ossetia and creating realistic conditions for the return of refugees to the places of their permanent residence."

Black Market Sugar Sparks Protest in Urals City

AU1909150191 Paris AFP in English 1412 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 19 (AFP)—Demonstrators Thursday took to the streets of Orenburg, in the Ural Mountains, to protest the sudden appearence of sugar on local black markets and hoarding by local store managers, the Russian news agency RIA reported.

Municipal and regional leaders were unable to calm the protesters as they flooded city streets, interrupting traffic and blockading a bridge across the Ural River.

Sugar has virtually disappered from most Soviet cities and in Moscow is rationed at the monthly rate of 1.5 kilograms (3.3 pounds) per inhabitant.

External Affairs

Silayev Says Government Favors Israeli Relations

OW1909114591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1000 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the near future the Russian parliament is going to submit a package of laws to the Russian parliament on opening doors for imports of socially significant goods. This was stated by the Russian Prime Minister Silayev at a meeting with representatives of the centrist block of political parties (led by Vladimir Voronin). He said this concerns primarily food, medicines and other goods the republic is short of. Russia intends to establish broad contacts with leading foreign companies and individuals to promote its pharmaceutical industry and solve the food problem.

In the framework of the program directed at expanding cooperation with foreign countries Russia plans to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. Silayev said he made such a proposal to Yeltsin. He said that there are sufficiently many emigrants from Russia in Israel who can serve as a bridge for active cooperation with that country.

The centrist block acquainted Silayev with its economic programs directed mostly at solving the food problem and increasing the production of baby food among other things. The block also plans the construction of homes for retiring servicemen. Its representatives said they have worked out a program for the cultural revival of Russia.

Rutskoy Continues Official Visit in Italy

Issues Joint Communique

LD1509012591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 14 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Teterin]

[Excerpt] Rome, 14 Sep (TASS)—Yesterday a meeting took place in Rome between Italy's Minister of Defense Virginio Rognoni and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. A communique of the press service of Italy's military department circulated here says that in the course of a lengthy conversation, which passed in an atmosphere of great cordiality, an exchange of views took place about the political and military situation in the world and about the new alignment of forces within a political and strategic context. Questions connected with the conversion of the Soviet defense industry and technological innovations were also touched upon. The sides noted with satisfaction that Italy has become the first country in the West with which the Soviet Union has concluded an intergovernmental agreement in this sphere. In the course of the meeting problems connected with the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and with the plan for the creation of a union of sovereign republics, were also discussed in detail, the communique notes. [passage omitted]

Answers Jounalists' Questions

LD1509013491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 14 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Polunin]

[Text] Bologna, 14 Sep (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev should stay on as USSR president even after the current transitional period ends. Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy said this here at a meeting with journalists. He arrived in Bologna to take part in the official opening of "Conversion-91", a Soviet exhibition being held in Italy for the first time. Rutskoy said that the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia [DPCR], which he heads, intends to support Gorbachev's candidacy in the forthcoming election to choose the head of the reinvigorated Soviet state.

According to the Russian vice president, the new union now has a chance to rid itself of obsolete dogma once and for all. This state, he continued, will be devoid of all labels—be they "socialist" or "communist". It will revolve around the individual, who was ignored by the previous system in the name of collective ideals.

Answering questions connected with the activities of the party he heads, Rutskoy said, among other things, that the DPCR does not place ideology at the center of everything. I am a pragmatic person, he continued. I have respect for anything that is the fruit of world civilization. We need to absorb the best of these achievements in order to resolve the main problem, the need to raise the standard of living of Russia's citizens. During the August events in the Soviet Union, Russia proved its commitment to the democratic path of development. Now it is essential to accelerate the republic's socioeconomic development so that our democratic society is not a hungry and embittered one. The declaration of human rights and freedoms that has been adopted in the Soviet Union needs to be reinforced in a material way and our people have to have a decent standard of living.

Rutskoy told journalists of plans to create a parliamentary party out of the DPCR which would act in defense of Russia's sovereignty and support the Russian president's radical reforms. We also want to help ordinary communists who bear none of the blame for the actions of the CPSU leadership and who should not be persuecuted, he stressed. The DPCR already has about 3 million members, Rutskoy said, and its membership will unquestionably increase after the party's congress which is scheduled for the end of October. The congress will also discuss a change in the party's name.

Repuboic Puts Japan Ties on 'Constructive' Base

PM2309102191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Sep 91 p 3

[Vladimir Kuznechevskiy "Political Observer's Notes": "Concerning the Kuril Islands, But Not Exclusively"]

[Text] R. Khasbulatov visited Japan 9-13 September. To all appearances, the talks held during the visit marked a watershed between all Soviet postwar policy vis-a-vis Japan and the burgeoning Russian-Japanese relations. The acting chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet demonstrated a constructive stance on the whole range of relations between our two countries. Without in any way avoiding discussing the "northern territories" issue, the leader of the Russian parliament was able during the talks to show the Japanese side that there are things of much higher, one might say permanent value in relations between our countries—friendly, mutually advantageous, good-neighborly relations in all areas (economy, politics, culture, the social sphere). The "territorial issue" is part of this whole spectrum, it cannot have any independent significance, and it will be tackled given general forward movement. Moreover, it can be resolved much more quickly if this approach is adopted.

On the one hand, the leader of the Russian parliament would seem to be very much oversimplifying the actual "northern territories" issue. But, at the same time, he was making it more complicated. He made it clear that no USSR, in any form, would be able to resolve the issue without the Russian Federation and that henceforth Japanese foreign policy geared to the USSR would have to be based on relations with the Russian Federation.

But Tokyo, to all appearances, can also see something that R. Khasbulatov preferred not to mention, namely: The Russian Federation is no longer just the Kremlin residence of its president. Even in relation to the solution of the "northern territories" issue four factors have to come into play—the Kremlin (residence of the RSFSR president); the "White House" (RSFSR Supreme Soviet); public opinion in the RSFSR as a whole; and special consideration for the opinion of the population of the Maritime Kray and Sakhalin Oblast and the legislative and executive bodies in Sakhalin, Vladivostok, and Khabarovsk.

To all appearances, the Russian leadership is fully aware of this. And in shaping its foreign policy it seeks to take the public opinion factor into account.

On the eve of Khasbulatov's visit the Russian president gave a lengthy interview for Western journalists in which he touched on the issue of the four south Kuril islands. Why, one wonders, should Yeltsin be making public something his personal envoy would be imparting to Japanese Premier T. Kaifu two days later? Particularly as a day before the interview information had been leaked to the press from the White House about the RSFSR leadership's having formed a new view of the "northern territories" issue.

This interview, anticipating Khasbulatov's visit to Japan, did have a purpose, though. It looks for all the world as if we are witnessing the birth of a new foreign policy model for the Russian supreme authority: The Russian leadership no longer wishes to continue the Bolshevik leadership's Soviet foreign policy practice whereby the Russian population and the wider public used to hear about major foreign policy steps, whose consequences might affect the lives of a section of the population, not from their own leaders' lips but from foreign sources.

But that is not the only novelty. This specific example of an initiative in the sphere of Soviet-Japanese relations shows that the Russian leadership is endeavoring not to encroach on what for it is a new area without a preliminary study of the question and without sounding out public opinion both in Russia and abroad.

In February 1991, prior to Gorbachev's visit to Japan, the U.S. Gallup public opinion research institute conducted a public opinion poll in the RSFSR (the data were not published in the USSR). It included the following two questions.

Question: How would you assess relations between the USSR and Japan at the present time?

Answer: good—20 percent; average—66 percent; bad—four percent; very bad—0.5 percent.

Question: What issue in relations between the USSR and Japan do you think should be resolved first, and what issue next, or should both issues be tackled simultaneously?

Answer: Some 13 percent said the "northern territories" issue should be resolved first, and only then should all the other issues in relations between the USSR and Japan be tackled.

Some 37 percent said that bilateral relations should be improved first, and only then should the "northern territories" issue be resolved.

Some 37 percent said that both issues should be tackled simultaneously.

Some 11 percent didn't know.

The poll results show at least three things. An absolute majority of those questioned believe that relations between our countries cannot even be described as good. Furthermore, people are not obsessed with the "northern territories" issue. Despite being a politically sensitive issue (and territorial matters are always the most sensitive; just remember the reaction of the public and leaders of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan to the RSFSR president's press secretary's August press statement. It does not block out the sun, so to speak, as far as Russia's inhabitants are concerned, unlike the Japanese. They see the

normalization of USSR-Japanese interstate relations as the fundamental question. Only when this general question is settled will public opinion be prepared to consider the "northern territories" issue. It is scarcely necessary to explain that for the inhabitants of Russia and for the Japanese the phrase "solving the islands issue" is equivalent to the phrase "transferring" them to Japan.

So the position of Yeltsin and Khasbulatov, recently demonstrated to us and to the Japanese public, sits on a very strong foundation as far as the RSFSR is concerned.

Of course, there will be many pitfalls in the course of the discussion of the matter. Above all, what legal documents are there to act on? Indeed, apart from the 1855 treaty that has already been mentioned, there is the 1875 treaty, whereby Russia in exchange for sole possession of Sakhalin island, until then jointly held by our two countries, surrendered to Japan all rights to all the Kuril Islands. Having obtained four islands, would Japan not demand all the remaining Kuril Islands in the future? Obviously there has to be a specific agreement on this.

And the deep-water straits in the area, linking the Sea of Okhotsk to the Pacific Ocean? Wouldn't Japan close them in an emergency, thus confining our merchant ships and warships to our inshore waters?

In short, there are things to discuss. But the main thing is that thanks to the Russian leadership's balanced and well-thought-out foreign policy initiative the problem of state relations between Russia and Japan has been placed on a constructive footing for the first time since the war or perhaps even earlier and has been transferred to the sphere of practical action, in the course of which and within which the "northern territories" issue could also be resolved.

Belorussia

Citizenship Law Passed; All Residents Recognized

LD2109010491 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Yevgeniy Gorelik and Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk September 20 TASS—The basic difference of the law on citizenship passed by the Belarusan parliament today from similar laws in other republics is that it recognizes as citizens of the republic each and every person residing on republic territory on the day when the law goes into effect.

Citizenship will also be granted to those who is [as received] serving in the Army in other republics of the Soviet Union, works under contract elsewhere or is presently on a long business trip or mission.

People who earlier permanently resided on republic territory but were forcibly resettled or had to leave the country before the law was promulgated retain the right to Belarusan citizenship.

The new law allows each citizen of the republic to retain the right to dual citizenship. The state will bear the responsibility for protecting the rights and legitimate interests of Belarusan citizens both on its own territory and beyond its boundaries.

People wishing to obtain Belarusan citizenship must respect and comply with the constitution, laws of the republic, be able to speak its national language and have lived at least five last years in the republic where they have a legitimate income source.

The law stipulates that the right to citizenship of Belarus can be abrogated, including in the eventuality of joining foreign armed forces, police or government personnel of a foreign state.

Agencies To Submit Independence Proposals

PM2009140591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Mikhail Shimanskiy under "Direct Link" rubric: "Belorussia Has Begun Building Independence"]

[Text] Minsk—The republic government has adopted a resolution outlining specific measures to implement the Belarusan Soviet Socialist Republic law giving constitutional status to the Belarusan Supreme Soviet declaration of state sovereignty, and on ensuring political and economic independence.

The corresponding ministries and departments are to make proposals on realizing the Belarusan people's national statehood and the republic's independence, in accordance with the norms of international law; also with regard to Belorussia's territory and state borders, the passport and customs regimes, the organs of state and public security, the armed forces, the stationing of troops and arms, and the concept of neutrality and a nuclear-free zone on the republic's territory.

The question of the mechanism for transferring enterprises and organizations of Union subordination to Belarusan ownership is to be worked out within a month. The process of their transfer is to be completed no later than 1 January next year.

Introduction of a national monetary unit on the republic's territory has been proposed, and an independent taxation policy will be implemented. The question of the establishment of national holidays, portentous dates, and national and state symbols is to be examined. The republic's own information and communication system will be set up.

Shushkevich 'Not Convinced' of Need To Secede

LD2109034591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1032 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Minsk, 19 Sep (BELTA-TASS)—"I am not convinced of the need to secede from the Union," Stanislav Shushkevich, elected chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, said during his first news conference as head of the Belarusan legislature. He stressed that he consistently supports concluding a Union treaty, but believes that it should not be concluded without ratification by republican legislatures.

Stanislav Shushkevich intends to step up the process of adopting laws which would guarantee foreign investors the secure investment of their capital in the Belarusan economy. However, he stressed that he remains an opponent of an intensive entry into "uncontrolled capitalism," although he welcomes capitalist methods of economic management.

Touching on the statement last year by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Belarusan Soviet Socialist Republic on possible territorial claims against Lithuania, Stanislav Shushkevich noted that he favors a zero option that would provide for the stability of the existing borders. He does not rule out, however, the possibility that during an in-depth analysis of the "Belarus-Lithuania" situation, some grey areas may emerge. They should be resolved through diplomatic means and with the full agreement of both sides. In his view, official recognition of the state independence of the Baltic states by Belarus is only a matter of time, but so far there is no acute need for an exchange of missions: The borders have not been isolated, economic ties have not been severed, and economic agreements are being met.

At the news conference Stanislav Shushkevich also stated that there are no fixed strategic nuclear installations on the territory of Belorussia.

Supreme Soviet Deputies Decide on Representatives

LD2109094891 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belorussian 0300 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Summary] At the sixth extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus: The Republic of Belarus is what our independent state has been called since yesterday. Its flag is a white-red-white banner and its coat of arms says: Pagonya.

The morning session began yesterday by compiling the list of representatives of Belarus to the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Out of 10 candidates, only eight were approved. Two scientists, Dr. Zhuravlev, a doctor and candidate of economic sciences, and Bobritskiy, did not collect a minimum number of votes. Only at the evening session were the remaining two elected. They are Bobritskiy and Sesko.

Without particular difficulty, the following three issues were considered: The chairman of the central electoral commission was "sent into deserved retirement," changes were introduced into an article on post duration, and the additional post of deputy chairman of the committee for issues of national security, defense, and crime fighting was decided. Deputy Privalov was elected to this position. The draft law on citizenship of the Republic of Belarus was also considered at the session and a corresponding resolution was adopted. This draft law will be published in the press.

A discussion started on the name, the state coat of arms, and the state flag of the republic. The deputies spoke in favor of the new name of our independent state—the Republic of Belarus. Voting on adopting new state symbols was not unanimous and the voting did not have positive results. Only at the end of the evening session, after a number of changes to the republic's constitution had been made, did the deputies vote in favor of adopting the new state coat of arms and the flag of the Republic of Belarus.

This morning the deputies will start a discussion on the eighth point on the agenda, on measures connected with providing security and defense for the Republic of Belarus.

South Korean Firms To Invest in Modernization

OW2209223191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2118 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] South Korean firms are ready to invest in the modernisation of a number of industries in Belarus, former Belorussia, a republic in western part of the USSR.

Daewoo has agreed to start the production of microwave ovens within three months; Lucky Gold Star plans to produce cement, fertilizers and packaging materials for foodstuffs in Belarus. The latter is also to be involved in the modernisation of Horizon, a local TV-making plant.

An agreement on Belarus' cooperation with South Korean firms was reached during a recent visit by Prime-Minister Vyacheslav Kebich to South Korea.

Ukraine

Statement Appeals for Support for Independence

LD2109214891 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Statement issued by Ukraine people's deputies and USSR people's deputies from Ukraine in Kiev on 21 September]

[Text] We, the people's deputies of Ukraine and USSR people's deputies from Ukraine, express our resolute support for the Act of State Sovereignty that was adopted by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and call on all citizens of Ukraine to say yes to the independent Ukrainian state during the nationwide referendum on 1 December 1991. We consider this to be a patriotic duty and a matter of honor for every person who calls Ukraine his fatherland.

Structure of Armed Forces Remains Undecided

Details Being Debated

OW2009161591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Decision on the formation of the structures of the Ukrainian armed forces has yet to be passed, said Colonel Vilen Martirosyan, chairman of the Union of Officers - Ukrainian Citizens, in an interview with the newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA of the Kiev Military District. According to Martirosyan, no military districts are envisaged on republican territory. The creation of three armies, 12 to 15 divisions and the national guard is being debated. The strategic missile forces and the air-defense system will for the time being be under central command.

Defense Minister Interviewed

PM2009133891 Moscow IAN PRESS RELEASE in English 20 Sep 91

[Reprint of 10 September NEZAVISTIMAYA GAZETA interview with Defense Minister General Konstantin Morozov by Yuriy Romanenko; place and date not given; first paragraph is introduction: "I Am Ready To Take the Oath of Allegiance to the Ukraine"]

[Text] Konstantin Morozov, b. 1944 in Lugansk Region, mother Ukrainian, father Russian. Graduated from the Kharkov Higher School of Fighter Pilots, climbed the ladder from cadet to major-general, commanded a fighter division and an Air Force army. A friend of the USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov.

Question: How will the Ukrainian armed forces develop? Will they become independent or remain an appendage of the Soviet Army?

Answer: I think that the structures which are called the republican guards now should be subordinate directly to the Supreme Soviet and the president of the Ukraine. Other armed forces deployed in the Ukraine should be a part of other formations, depending on their designation.

I think that the units currently deployed on the Ukraine should continue the routine combat training and remain subordinate to their present commanders. Questions related to the national armed forces should be carefully analysed and discussed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, and deputies should decide what to do. After officers get these laws and legal grounds of action, they would act on these documents.

Question: Your attitude to professional army?

Answer: Positive.

Question: Can the Ukrainian students rest assured that they would not be called up?

Answer: I cannot answer this question right away. But I think that the Supreme Soviet should pass a corresponding decision.

Question: The Armed Forces deployed on the Ukraine have 1.5 million servicemen. Is this enough or too much? Will there be reductions?

Answer: This is too much, of course. And I believe that the idea of reductions should be discussed, the more so that, as far as I know, the General Staff and the USSR Defence Ministry think alike.

Question: What is the military budget of the Ukraine?

Answer: I think it is a bit premature to discuss this now.

Question: Now long ago Kiev hosted the constituent congress of Ukrainian officers. What do you think about it? Will you cooperate with it?

Answer: I believe that this public organisation is helping to remove tensions and settle social problems. I support it and think that we should cooperate.

Question: Are you prepared to take the oath of allegiance to the Ukraine?

Answer: Yes, if I am offered to do so, I am ready, in principle.

Question: What do you think about the translation into Ukrainian of all army commands, manuals and documents?

Answer: This is a very sensitive question. You cannot introduce the Ukrainian overnight and put many commissioned and warrant officers in an embarrassing position. I think we need a transitional period during which this problem will be settled.

Conversion Seen as Lengthy Process

LD2109043391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Sergey Balykov]

[Text] Kiev, 20 Sep (TASS)—All the energy of defense enterprises in the Ukraine is now directed toward serving the individual, stated V. Antonov, state minister for defense complex and conversion issues, at a meeting with Frans Andriessen, vice president of the EC Commission for External Relations, who has visited Kiev.

Concerning conversion problems in the Republic, the minister noted that there are about 1,500 defense complex, machine-building, and communications enterprises in the Ukraine. They produce products worth more than 60 billion rubles [R]. The defense complex has the task of increasing the production of consumer goods by R50 billion. In order to cope with such a task, the Ukraine will need about 10 years. With aid from foreign partners this can be achieved 2-3 times faster—by creating joint ventures, cooperating on a compensation basis, and directing credits to the technical reequipment of the enterprises of the defense complex.

Deputies Discuss Formation of Security Service

LD2109121191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] The morning session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet discussed an extraordinary event. Last night, an act of vandalism took place in Kiev's Park of Eternal Glory. The memorial erected on the grave of the unknown soldier was defiled, as were the graves of heroes of the Great Patriotic War. Investigations have begun.

The people's deputies link this event with other recent examples of defilement and vandalism of memorials and graves in the republic. The session appealed to the people of the Ukraine, sharply condemning the provocation by extremists, and stated profound concern with the barbarous acts. The deputies interrupted the work of the session and went to the Park of Eternal Glory to ask forgiveness of the fallen soldiers and pay their respects to the remains of the defenders of the fatherland, alongside the people of Kiev.

Then, at a closed session, the deputies discussed the creation of a national security service in place of the abolished KGB. The new service would be directly subordinate to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and under the control of the Supreme Soviet. A resolution is also being discussed on the position of the press, television and radio during the coup d'etat.

Establishment of Hard Currency Fund Viewed

Foreign Loans Transfer

OW2309001191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2118 GMT 22 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report" dated September 23, 1991; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukraine, one of the biggest Soviet republics, intends to set up its own hard currency fund in the near future, the republic's foreign economic relations minister, Valeri Yaroshenko, said.

According to Mr. Yaroshenko, the hard currency fund is to be financed through obligatory payments in hard currency by state-owned enterprises and joint ventures.

The Ukraine insists that 15 of all foreign loans granted to the central government of the Soviet Union be transferred to the National Republican Bank. The republic intends also to conduct independent negotiations on the extension of new credits.

Fokin Appeals for Currency Reserves

PM2309093591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Tsikora under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Borrowing and Buying Hard Currency..."]

[Text] Kiev—Ukrainian Prime Minister V. Fokin has appealed to owners of hard currency.

The premier's appeal was broadcast on radio and printed in the newspapers on the morning of 20 September. It talks about the need to buy a quantity of grain for hard currency because the republic cannot supply itself with the amount of food it needs this year due to the drought in the south and torrential rains in the west of the Ukraine. The crop that has been harvested is "sufficient only for bread."

The government is therefore appealing to labor collectives and leaders of industrial, agricultural, cooperative, and other enterprises and organizations in the Ukraine "to share their foreign currency resources with the state. We would ask you to give part of that currency as a loan or sell it to the government at the commercial rate."

This is not an enforced measure, the prime minister stressed, and went on: "Do not believe the rumors being circulated that the government is requisitioning the foreign currency owned by labor collectives. That is not so. This is a question merely of a voluntary contribution as a demonstration of patriotism and interest in the fate of underprivileged Ukrainian citizens."

Democratic Party 'Condemns' Some Deputies' Stand

LD2209095591 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Supreme Soviet deputies from the Democratic Party of the Ukraine [DPU], virtually all of whom are members of Narodna Rada, held a meeting yesterday. They discussed the current situation in the Ukraine. DPU leader Volodymyr Filenko said:

[Begin Filenko recording] A month has passed since the coup attempt. In the Ukraine, it is still continuing. It has acquired a different shape, more like sabotage. When our generals, and by this I mean the deputies of the Supreme Soviet, arrived for the session in their uniforms, our conclusion was that the revolution in the Ukraine—or this stage of the revolution—is over. A counterrevolution has begun.

What troubles us all is the fact that the government refuses to shoulder radical economic reforms, particularly privatization and denationalization. Without these steps, the living standard cannot be raised and the independence of the Ukraine will be discredited once again. I think that it is too early for us to abandon our oppositional stand. Yesterday's voting on activities of the state television and radio company on the basis of the conclusions submitted by the parliamentary commission, which proved in a straightforward manner the direct involvement of this structure in the putsch, confirms this. [end recording]

In connection with yesterday's division over the no confidence vote in the board of the Ukrainian state television and radio company, Deputy Oles Shevchenko made a statement at the session on behalf of Narodna Rada. As we already reported, the motion did not pass.

[Begin Shevchenko recording] Narodna Rada believes that voting against the motion by communist representatives amounts to an undisguised regrouping by conservatives for a counteroffensive against democracy, for defense of the communist-propagandist structures of the totalitarian system, and for its reanimation and restoration. Narodna Rada condemns the dubious position of a score of deputies, calling electors of the Ukraine to properly appraise those people's deputies who came out against the no confidence vote yesterday, as well as those forces that assisted the activities of the emergency committee in an active or passive way. [end recording]

Rukh Members 'Exasperated' by Communist Party

LD2209140491 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0000 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] A group of members of the Makarov branch of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] went on a hunger strike. They demand the dissolution of the district committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the District Soviet of People's Deputies. The majority of its deputies are former Communist Party members. The last straw which exasperated the Rukh

members and made them go on strike were the decisions taken by the recent session of the Makarov District Soviet whose deputies decided to sell by auction all the property of the Makarov district committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and distribute the receipts among the former party members who remain without jobs.

Republic Imposes Immediate Ban on Oil Exports

LD2109143391 Berlin ADN in German 1411 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The Ukraine Government has imposed an immediate ban on the export of oil and oil products from its ports. The Russian news agency RIA reports today that a large number of tankers are currently waiting for clearance in Odessa and other Black Sea ports. The Soviet export companies have already received numerous enquiries from foreign business partners asking for an explanation with regard to the halting of deliveries. The Soviet Union is risking breaching its contracts. The Ukrainian side has so far not made any statement.

Kravchuk To Focus on Economics in Canadian Visit

LD2009103191 Moscow TASS in English 0829 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] Ottawa September 20 TASS—Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian parliament, said that his forthcoming visit to Canada would focus on economic rather than political issues. On the eve of his arrival in Canada on Sunday, the Ukrainian leader said in an interview with a Canadian press correspondent in Kiev: "I would be glad to sign some document, but not in a political sphere, but primarily in the sphere of economy and trade."

Kravchuk said that he did not intend to ask for economic assistance, but added: "If it is part of a more extensive agreement, I shall not say no." During her recent trip to Kiev, Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall announced the decision of the Canadian Government to open a line of credit to the sum of 50 million dollars for the development of private business in the Ukraine and to render technical assistance to it worth 5 million dollars.

Kravchuk spoke in favour of the opening of a Ukrainian consulate in Canada along with the Soviet consulate in Toronto. "This would actually become the first step in the establishment of diplomatic relations with Canada," he stressed. Kravchuk said he did not intend to approach the Canadian Government directly with a request to recognise the independence of the Ukraine. "I would not like to make the situation more complicated for the Canadian Government.... I understand its position.... I believe Canada will be among the first to recognise the Ukraine as an independent state, but only after the referendum-...scheduled for December 1," he pointed out.

Kravchuk will hold talks with Canadian leaders in Ottawa and will visit Toronto, where he will meet representatives of the Ukrainian community in Canada, of the Canadian business circles, as well as legislators.

Moldova

Snegur on 'Campaign' To Unite With Romania

AU2109182291 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1707 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] In a statement made in Chisinau [Kishinev], Mr. Mircha Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, spoke out against separatists' speculations, according to which Moldova intends to unite with Romania. The president called those speculations an antipopular and hysterical campaign.

According to the MOLDOVA PRESS AGENCY, quoted by ROMPRES, President Snegur mentioned that each citizen, party, or movement had the constitutional right to freely express his point of view, however, it was high time to learn to differentiate the opinions of various parties and movements from the official policy of the state.

The president of the Republic of Moldova also emphasized that the aspirations of people to live in an independent state will also be confirmed at the presidential elections due on 8 December.

Blockade of Dnestr Railway Continues

Cars Backed Up

AU2109154891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1002 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], ROMPRES, 21/9/1991—The minister of the interior of the Republic of Moldova, Ion Kostas, told a news conference in Chisinau that more than 1,500 railway cars gathered on the left bank of the Dnestr on the south-west railway segment while on the north segment in the Ocnita Station there are over 800 cars following the blocking of the railway by groups of Russian speaking inhabitants of the so-called Dnestran Republic, MOLDOVA-PRES reports.

Conditional Amnesty Granted

LD2109110291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] President of Moldova Mircha Sneger signed a decree on 20 September granting amnesty to all the individuals against whom criminal proceedings are being instituted in accordance with Article 179, Section 2 of the Criminal Code of Moldova on the blockade of railways and other transport communications. The decree states, however, that the amnesty will not be extended to those individuals who continue to be involved in blockading railways after the decree has been made public.

Georgia

Supreme Soviet Discusses 'Ossetian Extremists'

OW2009203091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday, the session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet again discussed the political situation in the republic in spite of its own decision to pass on to economic matters.

After Interior Minister Dilar Khabuliani told parliament that "Ossetian extremists" had moved 10 armored personnel carriers into Southern Ossetia, President Zviad Gamsakhurdia suggested sending a special message to the parliament of Russia.

IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports that 10 to 15 thousand people came to Tbilisi's Republic Square on Friday [20 September] to demand President Gamsakhurdia's resignation. Similar demands were voiced by theatrical workers and college and university students.

Two to three thousand followers of Zviad Gamsakhurdia held a rally outside the government building.

Gamsakhurdia Suspends Session

LD2009190591 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi September 20 TASS—The evening sitting of the Georgian Supreme Soviet's session lasted less than one hour and was suspended at President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's suggestion, SAKINFORM news agency has reported.

The president told parliamentarians that speakers at the rally of opposition parties which was being held simultaneously with the session called on the people to storm the government building and release prisoners from jails.

The president urged the parliament to suspend its session and called on deputies to attend the rally to prevent the actions.

Reportage on Political Protests, Responses

TASS: Situation Deteriorates

LD2109154491 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi September 21 TASS—The political situation sharply deteriorated in Tbilisi on Saturday after the confrontation between the authorities and the democratic opposition reached the apex.

At 13:22 Tbilisi time, Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia addressed the population, interrupting a national TV programme.

He called on people to rally near the government building after united opposition forces decided to hold a peaceful manifestation in front of the government headquarters.

Protestors Clubbed; Gamsakhurdia Appeal

AU2109142591 Paris AFP in English 1352 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 21 (AFP)—Georgian security forces on Saturday [21 September] clubbed some 40 government opponents and forced them off the steps of Parliament in Tbilisi where they planned to stage a hunger strike to press for the release of political prisoners, witnesses said.

The opponents were all members of the small National Democratic Party (NDP) who want their leader, Gia Chanturia, freed from jail, said Zurab Gongadze, a member of the NDP leadership. Chanturia has been held uncharged in preventive detention since Tuesday.

Chanturia's wife, Irina Sarichvili, was among the protestors. She was released Thursday night when the legal 72-hour detention period expired, though her husband was kept in jail for another 10 days, party sources said Friday.

The security guards struck the protestors with clubs and arrested at least four of them, though no shots were fired, local journalists said. Members of an Estonian television crew who were filming the scene were also clubbed and taken off to an unknown destination.

The incident follows two weeks of big opposition rallies calling for the ouster of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who has been holed up inside the Parliament building since protests started. Critics claim he uses autocratic methods to stifle dissent and accuse him of supporting the failed coup in Moscow last month, but supporters of Gamsakhurdia have staged counter-demonstrations.

At one point Saturday, Gamsakhurdia used a transmitter inside Parliament to make an appeal over Georgian Radio. He charged that the opposition had "launched an attack against Parliament" and called on the population to come out to support him, the local journalists said.

Gongadze said the 40 protestors had sat down on the steps of the Parliament building when the trouble started. Just after their arrival, a deputy who supports the president, Avtandil Khiladze, called on a group of women demonstrators who have maintained a vigil outside Parliament in support of Gamsakhurdia, to attack the hunger strikers, Gongadze said.

The local journalists said Georgian militiamen armed with clubs then intervened, with backing from members of the Georgian National Guard who have remained faithful to the president.

The sources said the 40 protesters were cut off from other people in the streets, since buses have been parked on both sides of Parliament across Rustaveli Avenue, the city's main street where daily pro- and anti-government continue.

Conflicting Reports on Attacks

OW2109153991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] INTERFAX has been informed by the press service of the Georgian president that a group from the National-Democratic Party of Georgia had made an attempt to seize the Government House by Saturday noon [21 September]. President Zviad Gamsakhurdia appealed to the population on the radio and television for protection.

Now, according to the President's press-service, thousands of Gamsakhurdia's supporters are converging on the building "to defend parliament and Georgia's independence".

Meanwhile, INTERFAX reports from Tbilissi that the situation near the parliament building is calm, and there is no information of any attack on parliament.

Forty members of the National-Democratic Party of Georgia began a hunger strike near the Government House on Saturday. Among them is the press-secretary of the party and Irina Sarishvili, the wife of its leader G. Chanturia who was arrested September 16.

Witnesses say that the strikers were assaulted and beaten up by an aggressive crowd of Z. Gamsakhurdia's supporters. The militia idly stood by.

5,000 More Soldiers Join Opposition

AU2209134391 Paris AFP in English 1225 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 22 (AFP)—An additional 5,000 soldiers voiced support Sunday [22 September] for groups opposed to Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia as opposition leaders united in demanding his resignation, a parliamentary deputy said.

Gamsakhurdia meanwhile dispatched his education minister in an effort to negotiate with leaders of the opposition as the numbers of anti-government protesters at the television building in Tbilisi swelled to more than 10,000, according to the deputy, Merab Uridia.

Uridia, speaking by telephone to AFP, said leaders of the forces opposed to Gamsakhurdia had given an ultimatum to the Georgian leader, saying he must issue an appeal for calm before 3:30 p.m. (1130 GMT) before there could be any negotiations.

"We want the president to rescind his order to supporters to resist a so-called attack on parliament," said Uridia, a former member of the coalition which holds a big parliamentary majority.

Their demands came after Gamsakhurdia on Saturday called on his supporters to come to his defense as anti-government protesters marched to the parliament building and occupied the surrounding streets.

All members of the groups opposed to Gamsakhurdia, led by former Georgian prime minister Tengiz Sigua and including members of the current parliament, united Sunday in demanding that the president step down, Uridia said.

In addition to units of Afghan war veterans, whose members are under the authority of the newly-created Georgian Defense Ministry, the anti-government protesters have already been joined by armed units of the national guard, sources in Tbilisi said.

The opposition leaders demanded that any talks with the government be held at the residence of Georgia's Russian Orthodox Patriarch Illya II.

In addition to demanding Gamsakhurdia's resignation, some 40 deputies present at the television building also appealed for public support and called for investigation of clashes between pro- and anti-Gamsakhurdia demonstrators during the night.

Nearly 40 people, three of them seriously hurt in the clashes, were hospitalized, local journalists said.

Opposition protesters had planned another demonstration later Sunday in Tbilisi's Republic Square while pro-government protesters were also planning a further demonstration around the same time.

"Any attack on the television station is bound to be bloody," according to another parliamentary deputy, reached by telephone from Moscow.

Sunday's violence came after two weeks of rising tension in the Caucasian republic amid daily demonstrations calling for the removal of Gamsakhurdia, considered by his opponents as authoritarian and undemocratic. Gamsakhurdia's supporters have also held rival protests for the past two weeks.

The deputy, who asked not to be named, said no firearms were used during the weekend clashes but he accused Gamsakhurdia of "ordering the people to turn on their own."

On Saturday, a 35-year-old doctor set fire to himself shouting "Down with Gamsakhurdia, down with dictatorship" as some 15,000 anti-government protesters occupied the streets outside the Georgian parliament building. He was taken to hospital in critical condition.

Earlier Saturday, security forces brutally dispersed about 40 members of the opposition National Democratic Party whose leader, Gya Chanturia, was arrested Tuesday. At least two people were hurt in that clash.

Later, deputies loyal to Gamsakhurdia urged supporters to storm barricades erected by opposition demonstrators, according to the deputy reached by phone. Several cars were set on fire but security forces did not intervene, local journalists said.

Some of the national guard members who joined the opposition protesters at the television building were armed with automatic weapons, they added.

Pro-Gamsakhurida Supporters Mass

LD2209131991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1146 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 Sep (TASS)—"All to the defense of the parliament and the president!" This call by Zviad Gamsakhurdia led last night to mass clashes between the supporters of the Georgian president and those opposing him, which took place on Rustaveli Street. According to the official version, tens of thousands of citizens who answered Gamsakhurdia's call pushed out the opposition demonstrators and cleared the street of barricades. The latter allegedly defended themselves using stones, sticks, and metal poles, as well as tear gas and nerve gas cylinders. Opposition representatives deny this, saying that plainclothes militia and Special Purpose Militia Detachment personnel were acting against them.

Information about the number of casualties during the clashes is contradictory. Figures from tens to hundreds of injured are given.

Last night the headquarters of the National Independence Party and the National Democratic Party were smashed. These buildings are guarded by police now. The fate and location of their leaders are not yet known.

A mass meeting of supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia has been going on near government house since early morning today. Sandwiches are given out free here and are being called "a presidential ration" by some. Some orators claim that the National Guard servicemen, refractory to the authorities, will burst into Tbilisi any minute. All approaches to Rustaveli Street are blocked by heavy dump trucks.

However, one of the police officers refuted these rumors, saying: "We would be the first to know about a storm by the guard."

According to some information, demonstrations and protest actions by the opposition forces continue in front of Tbilisi University and the state radio and television department.

Situation Detailed; Opposition Protests

LD2209150991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1310 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Telephone report by Bizi Katarovich Uriglashvili]

[Text] This is the latest news here. Tengiz Sigua, the former prime minister of Georgia; (Tengiz Kipovani), the commander of the national guard; Irakli Tsereteli, chairman of the Party of National Independence; and other opposition leaders are attempting to coordinate their future actions. The people who have assembled at the television center—there are now approximately 5,000 of them—are arming themselves. At the television center there are also two armored personnel carriers and several trucks. Up to 100 guard troops are armed with submachineguns. Supporters of Gamsakhurdia are on Rustaveli Street in front of the government house. There are also many armed people there. On radio and television appeals are again being disseminated to gather at the parliament. The opposition has issued a demand that it will set about negotiations with Gamsakhurdia only in the event that he speaks to his supporters, whom he has called in from the provinces, and appeals for them to disperse.

Patriarch of Georgia Catholicos Ilya II has come forward with a peace initiative. He has called for sense from the opposing parties and has appealed to them to sit down at the negotiating table. The opposition has been examining the option of a meeting of the leaders of the opposition with Gamsakhurdia in the presence of Catholicos Ilya II, but, judging from preliminary information, this meeting has not taken place.

Akakiy Asatiani, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, has issued an appeal to the organizations and the populace of Georgia. He supports the call of Patriarch Ilya II and appeals to all deputies of the Georgian Supreme Soviet to gather at the parliament building at 1800 to discuss the situation. He also assured everyone that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet will do everything in its power to settle this acute crisis.

This is the very latest information from the opposition. According to their information, several dozen women who are Gamsakhurdia supporters have broken into the patriarch's residence and demanded that he turn up at a rally in support of the president. I repeat that this last bit of information has arrived from the opposition. I personally have not yet checked it. These are the latest events in Tbilisi.

TASS Reports From Tbilisi TV Center

LD2209161791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 Sep (TASS)—The opposition forces have named the building of the Georgian State Television Department the last bulwark of democracy. The TASS correspondents are conducting their reportage from the top floor, which overlooks Merab Kostava Street.

Kostava, who was tragically killed in a car accident a year ago, could hardly have predicted that Zviad Gamsakhurdia, his friend and companion-in-arms in the national liberation battle, having become president of the republic, would lead Georgia into a political impasse.

The whole street is partitioned off by buses and trucks, and within the partitions a rally by the democratic opposition, which was dispersed during the night by a thousands-strong crowd of Gamsakhurdia supporters, is under way Inside and in front of the building of the State Television and Radio Department are subunits of the National Guard, which have refused to take orders from the president. They are armed with Kalashnikov submachine-guns and Army carbines. As if at an armaments museum, we see that the protectors of the television building have sabers, revolvers, hunting rifles, anything that might shoot. Someone has even brought along the daggers that belonged to his ancestors.

Everything will be decided today, one of the guardsmen told TASS correspondents. The dispersal of the opposition during the night showed that Gamsakhurdia will stop at nothing to preserve the totalitarian regime. Our sole aim in coming here was to prevent the political crisis from having a bloody denouement. We will return fire only if force is again used against people at the rally.

Among the defenders we encountered people who are well known and respected not only in Georgia but also far beyond. Among them were film producer Eldar Shengelaya, poet Dzhansug Charkviani, former Prime Minister of the Republic Tengiz Sigua, and deputies from the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

Correspondents from many of the world's leading mass media, local journalists and journalists from Moscow are working at a hastily set up press center. The television building has been disconnected and so the only link between the journalists and their editorial offices is by telephone.

It has emerged from the latest reports that approximately three people died as a result of last night's clashes on Rustaveli Avenue. Contradictory rumors continue to sweep Tbilisi because the radio and television are silent and the central papers are not available.

Pro-Government Rallies Demand Arrests

LD2009232191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 20 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" program]

[Text] Two rallies took place today in Tbilisi. At the first rally, representatives of 27 parties and sociopolitical movements gathered as opposition. The demands were the same as ever—the president's resignation. The president's supporters gathered at the second rally in front of Government House. Zviad Gamsakhurdia once again exposed a series of enemies of the Georgian people. The "Vesti" program and George Bush have previously been declared Kremlin agents. Today it was Eduard Shevardnadze's turn; it was declared that he had been arrested. Shevardnadze, according to reports coming from the spontaneous rally of old communists and war veterans, is being accused of organizing a military putsch. The latest demands of the rally participants are the arrests of Yeltsin, Yakovlev, Gorbachev, and other so-called Kremlin agents.

Sigua on Gamsakhurdia's 'Civil War' Call

OW2109184391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] INTERFAX reports from Tbilisi that after Z. Gamsakhurdia's warning of an imminent storm of the parliament building the opposition held a rally of up to 30 thousand people. The former Georgian Premier Tenghiz Sigua said in his address that "this is the last drop in the cup of the people's patience". He saw the latest pronouncement by Gamsakhurdia as "a call for civil war".

Sigua suggested going to Parliament and handing the president the opposition's demands. The two opposed camps are facing each other over barricades of buses blocking Roustaveli Prospect.

The situation has come to a boiling point. Both sides warn against provocations. People armed with submachineguns have been spotted in the crowd.

Sigua Given Negotiation Powers

LD2209001391 Moscow TASS in English 2334 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi September 21 TASS—President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's televised address to Georgians today has been described by opposition forces as a provocative call for unleashing a civil war.

A rally was called to protest the battering of a group of members of Georgia's National Democratic Party who attempted to stage a hunger strike in front of the government house demanding the release of political prisoners.

After the rally, a many thousand-strong column of democratic forces marched towards the government house. The passage was blocked by busses and policemen. A tractor was called in to pull the heavy Ikarus busses to the side to clear the passage. However, the police blocked the way again.

TASS learned the latest news from well-informed sources among the opposition leaders: Georgia's democratic forces granted the former Prime Minister of Georgia Tenghiz Sigua powers to conduct negotiations with the president of Georgia.

Confrontation and tension were escalating in front of the government house after 20:00 local time. Additional ambulances were seen arriving on the spot.

Gamsakhurdia Agrees To Meet Opposition

LD2209171591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1612 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 Sep (TASS)—Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has finally agreed to meet a representative of the opposition forces holding the building of the Department for Television and Radio Broadcasting. He chose Tedo Paatashvili, chairman of the standing commission on international relations of the republican Supreme Soviet. In all probability, the meeting will take the form of direct talks.

At an improvised news conference in the television building, member of parliament Merab Uridiya stated that the first and only demand of the opposition forces is the immediate restoration of the direct television relay of the republican Supreme Soviet session which was interrupted on the president's initiative.

Meanwhile, a conference of the leaders of the opposition forces, who are discussing a plan of action, is already into its third hour. In the words of Uridiya, the possibility is not ruled out that at this conference the opposition will agree on joint action in a situation close, it appeared to him, to civil war. The parliamentarian also stated that Gamsakhurdia had rejected opposition demands to end the appeals to the population, which have been continuing without interruption for almost 24 hours, and which are provoking clashes between people of the same blood, but who find themselves occupying different political positions. He also cited more detailed information on the numbers of those who suffered during the night of 22 September. Of these, 41 people, one of whom is in a critical condition, have been registered in city hospitals.

People, including youths bearing shotguns, are streaming toward the television and radio broadcasting building, which is very easily visible to TASS correspondents from the windows of the top floor. Inside the building, dressings and medicines are being distributed to its defenders.

Opposition To Negotiate

LD2109202191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Sep 91

[From the "TV-Inform" newscast]

[Text] A TASS correspondent has learned some fresh news from informed sources in the opposition leadership. The democratic forces have authorized Tenghiz Sigua, the former prime minister of the republic, to hold talks with the president of Georgia. At 2000 local time, when the TASS correspondent filed this report, the confrontation at the government headquarters was increasing. More ambulances are arriving there.

Paatashvili, Gamsakhurdia Meet

LD2209205891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 22 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondents report from Tbilisi: One hopeful piece of news today was a report that Paatashvili, a representative of the parliamentary opposition, has met Gamsakhurdia, the president of Georgia. Stating his tiredness as the reason, the parliamentarian refrained from giving detailed comment, noting only that the meeting had taken place in a narrow circle of people, and that contacts will be continued.

Journalists did not even manage to elucidate the opinion of Tengiz Kitovani, the commander of Georgia's national Guard, in the current situation. However, it became known from well-informed sources close to the commander that the Guard insists unambiguously and uncompromisingly upon the immediate resignation of Gamshakhurdia. It accuses him of supporting the August putsch in Moscow, and of betraying the interests of the people.

At this late hour, the commander is engaged in working out options for possible actions by the guardsmen in the event of armed force being used by the official authorities against the opposition in the Television and Radio Broadcasting Department building. Its defenders are making efforts to ensure that the building has its own power supplies. At the moment candles and pocket torches are being used.

Candles are also burning in the hands of those taking part in the rally at the television building, testifying to peaceful intentions and hopes for something better.

At the moment a rally of many thousands of people is also taking place on the Prospekt Rustaveli, at the government building. Here, Gamsakhurdia's supporters are again stating their love for and loyalty to the president. Their speeches are being relayed via the city radio broadcasting network, which is controlled by the government.

Gamsakhurdia on Poisonous Gas Use

LD2209184591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1540 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] A Sakinform correspondent reports: As has been stated on television by Georgia's Prime Minister Gugushvili, neither of the sides has used firearms. The

defenders of the barricades used stones and metal rods. Up to 40 people were taken to hospital as a result of the clashes.

This statement was also confirmed by Georgian President Gamsakhurdia, who added, however, that poisonous gas was also used by the opposition. He rejected as utter disinformation the story that up to 10 people had died when the barricades were being taken down.

Both the President and the Prime Minister expressed serious alarm and concern over the continuing destructive actions of the opposition. In their addresses to the population of the republic they call for the rallying and uniting of all those who support the government that has been elected by the people.

Calls for consolidation and responsibility, for constructive dialogue with the opposition, and for civil peace and concord in the republic are to be heard at this time in the appeals of Ilya II, the catholicos and patriarch of all Georgia.

A rally of thousands of people in support of the legally elected President, parliament and government of the republic is continuing at the government building.

Opposition Leader Chanturiya Situation Updated

Chanturiya Fears Being 'Eliminated'

LD2009232691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1418 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko: "The Chairman of the Georgian National Democratic Party Warns From Prison of Possibility of his Physical Elimination"—TASS headline]

[Text] Tbilisi, 20 Sep (TASS)—Georgiy Chanturiya, Georgian National Democratic Party chairman, has told his comrades-in-arms that it is possible he will be physically eliminated. In the message smuggled out of prison, he emphasizes that if this happens then "Zviad Gamsakhurdia and his minions" must bear all guilt for the consequences.

10 More Days of Detention

AU2009155791 Paris AFP in English 1550 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 20 (AFP)—Georgian opposition leader Gia Chanturia, who was to be freed from preventive detention Thursday night, will be kept in jail for 10 more days, a spokesman for his party said here.

Chanturia helped organize huge street protests in Tbilisi over the last two weeks seeking the ouster of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. He was arrested Tuesday on a flight from the Georgian capital to Moscow under laws that allow preventive detention for a period of 72 hours.

Georgiy Zumbadze, a representative here for Chanturia's small National Democratic Party, said the Georgian prosecutor has refused to file charges against the opposition leader but finally agreed to keep him locked up for 10 more days.

Most members of the presidium of the Georgian parliament had called for his release in a meeting Tuesday, though sources there said Gamsakhurdia had violently opposed the concession.

Chanturia's wife, Irina Sarichvili, who was arrested at the same time as her husband, has been freed, the source said.

Another Georgian opponent, Georgy Khaindrava, was arrested overnight Wednesday and chaged with organizing mass disturbances.

Though Gamsakhurdia won by a landslide in democratic elections last spring, he has come under increasing fire from critics who claim he uses autocratic methods to stifle dissent.

They have also charged that he supported the recent attempted coup in Moscow.

Fears Physical Elimination

LD2209075591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] In a message from prison, Georgiy Chanturia, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Georgia, has disclosed that an attempt may be made to physically eliminate him. Irina Sarishvili, who is the party's press secretary, was released yesterday.

[Begin Sarishvili recording] My husband, Georgiy Chanturia, remains in prison. They have a warrant to hold him for 10 days. After 10 days they must bring official, substantiated charges against him or release him. In principle, the same applies to me and to Georgiy Khaindrava, who is still remanded in custody. We just do not know how all this is going to end. [end recording]

Armenia

Reportage on Independence Referendum, Results

'Overwhelming Majority' Back Independence

OW2109181591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] By a preliminary count 76 percent of Armenian voters have been to the polls as of 18 hrs Moscow time in a referendum on independence. No surprises - reports INTERFAX - an overwhelming majority are for "an independent, sovereign, and democratic Armenia".

Particularly active were the rural people. INTERFAX was told at the republic's electoral board that polling stations closed in the morning in many areas since all the voters had cast their ballots.

Ter-Petrosyan Votes for Independence

OW2109151891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Chairman of Armenia's Supreme Soviet Levon Ter-Petrosyan voted on Saturday morning for the independence of his republic. While answering at the polling station in Yerevan to the quesition what response can be expected from the Armenian leadership if the USSR fails to recognize the republic's independence, L. Ter-Pertosyan said, "We are marching towards independence in compliance with all international laws, particularly with the USSR Constitution. Refusing to recognize Armenia's independence is the same as not recognizing that Constitution".

Meanwhile, the news agency NORUTYUN SERVICE reports that by noon 50 percent of voters had cast their ballots in the referendum on independence.

Ter-Oetrosyan Interviewed at Poll

LD2109220291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Karen Daniyelyan, correspondent] Today, 21 September, is the first national referendum in Armenia in the history of the Armenian people. [passage omitted] Among the first who came to the polling booths was Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia.

[Begin Ter-Petrosyan recording] So, the referendum is being carried out within the framework of the law and within the framework of the Constitution. This imparts decisive, deciding juridicial force to our referendum. What follows on from this? Naturally, we will strive for full political independence, but I do not deny the possibility of cooperation, both with the Soviet Union and with all the Union Republics. This is the first point. Secondly—I think that we have discussed this problem—there is no question for us of not signing the economic treaty which is being prepared, and on the draft of which our plenipotentiary is also working. [end recording]

Independence Referendum Results

LD2209175691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigrin Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Sep (TASS)—Of those who voted, 99.31 percent, or 94.39 percent of those on the electoral register, came out in favor of Armenian independence. This was just announced in Yerevan by Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, as he reviewed the results of the republic's referendum, in which 95.05 percent of voters took part.

The report by the chairman of the Central Referendum Commission on the official result of the plebiscite led to an ovation by numerous representatives of the Armenian Republic, emissaries from the Armenian diaspora abroad, and journalists who were present in the room.

More Results Reported

NC2209193191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Report by Mesrop Saakyan from the Central Electoral Commission on 22 September—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Saakyan] The referendum Press Center at the Armenian Supreme Soviet was a festive place today. The exchange of smiles was the only mode of communication for hundreds of foreign reporters. Even before the ballot boxes were opened these smiles were prevalent. They began on 21 September, as a sign of the general disposition of the Armenian people following the yes vote. This yes vote was manifested in the form of universal joy.

At 1100 local time, the electoral commission on the referendum took its place in the press center. The results, sealed in boxes, from all the electoral districts boxes were brought to the group. Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Central Commission on the Referendum, addresses the gathering:

[Ararktsyan] We are starting what might be the penultimate session of the Central Commission on the Referendum. We together have the opportunity to sum up the preliminary results of this referendum. First, let me give some information. Armenia was divided into 58 electoral districts which had some 1,709 voting booths. The Armenian Republic's permanent mission in Moscow was also given the status of a voting booth to enable Armenian citizens in Moscow to vote there. We have received the ballots from 54 of the electoral districts. We have not received ballots from Tavushskiy, Megrinskiy, Kapanskiy, or Kapan. As you know these are the remote areas of Armenia. These ballots are on the way and might arrive while we are working here. Here are the signatures of the representatives from these 54 electoral districts. Here are their signatures to the effect that they have handed in their [words indistinct]. I have here 54 parcels, and I ask any observer to come forward and count the parcels and check the seals. Does anyone want to count the parcels or check the seals?

[Saakyan] In addition to the members of the central electoral commission and many foreign and Armenian reporters, a group of Armenian Supreme Soviet deputies

are taking part in the vote count. [passage omitted] It is now 1905 local time and the counting is continuing. It is still too early to announce the final results. However, I asked one of the electoral commission members to give us a prediction on the outcome. We will give more definitive results tomorrow.

[Electoral Commission member Vardan Zurnachyan] I am a people's deputy and a member of the central Electoral Commission on the Referendum. What should I say? The figures already show that voter turnout was between 95-96 percent. Yes votes constitute about 93-94 percent of the total. No and invalid ballots constitute 1 or 2 percent. This is a spectacular indicator. [passage omitted]

[Saakyan] The Armenian people have said yes to independence. We will provide more definite results tomorrow [words indistinct]

Ter-Petrosyan: Settlement as First Step

LD2009135891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1211 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 20 Sep (TASS)—Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Parliament of Armenia, has stated that in the next few days, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev will sign a decree calling for the restoration of the legitimate bodies of power in Nagorno-Karabakh, which were abolished a year and a half ago. Speaking in an interview on republican television, he stressed that the USSR president's decree has been in preparation for a long time, but its adoption has been frustrated.

According to the leader of Armenia, Azerbaijan has presented serious resistance to this document. There were forces in the center who did not want a settlement of the Karabakh problem. Levon Ter-Petrosyan believes that the center should not be an intermediary and guarantor in settling the Karabakh problem. "Russia and Kazakhstan are the most appropriate for this function," he stressed.

However, the leader of Armenia thinks that the USSR president's decree "is not yet a solution to the Karabakh problem, but a first step, after which serious negotiations and a comprehensive study of the problem will begin."

Rejects Center as 'Neutral Mediator'

OW2009163891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Levon Ter-Petrosyan has said by opening debates over the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict the USSR State Council has made a first step towards settling the problem of Artsakh (Armenian name of Nagorno-Karabakh—IF [INTERFAX].)

Speaking on republican TV on Thursday, Mr. Ter-Petrosyan said the Azerbaijani negotiators, notably President Ayaz Mutalibov and Premier Gasan Gasanov, had protested during the debates against the provision in the future presidential decree on Nagorno-Karabakh that required restoration of the lawful Karabakhi government.

IF earlier quoted one of the negotiators as saying that the State Council had urged President Gorbachev to issue a decree containing 5 provisions, including on the restoration of Soviets and other government bodies in Nagorno-Karabakh, the withdrawal of troops, and ending the confrontation of armed units in the area.

Mr. Ter-Petrosyan expressed satisfaction with Russia and Kazakhstan's readiness to mediate the Armenian-Azerbaijani talks, and pointed out that "the Center can no longer act as a neutral mediator."

Ter-Petrosyan on Referendum, Yeltsin Mission

LD2109214491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" program]

[Excerpts] A referendum to determine Armenia's political status began in the republic today. There is only one question: Do you agree that the Republic of Armenia should be an independent democratic state outside the USSR?

[V. Nazaryan report] [passage omitted] [video shows people at polling stations; Ter-Petrosyan casting his vote] The majority of visitors gathered today at Polling Station No 71, where Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and republican presidential candidate, was casting his vote.

[Begin recording] [Ter-Petrosyan] This is a conscious political act. In the last three years the Armenian people have matured to a sufficient political awareness to enable them to reach a proper historical and political decision today.

[Nazaryan] There is one other major issue today: The mission of mediation by Yeltsin and Nazarbayev to resolve the Karabakh conflict.

[Ter-Petrosyan] I pin great hope on the mission of mediation of Boris Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, the presidents of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and of Kazakhstan. As a result of these talks there may be some sort of positive development on the Karabakh problem. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Further on Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Arrival

NC2209163091 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev arrived in

Yerevan from Stepanakert on 22 September. They are here as mediators and guarantors in the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

The guests were met at Yerevan's airport by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet; Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers; Evgeny Shaposhnikov, the USSR defense minister and marshal of the Air Force; Viktor Barannikov, the USSR internal affairs minister and general of the Army; deputy chairmen of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and of the Council of Ministers; (?officers), and other officials.

Boris Yeltsin assessed the talks held in Baku and Stepanakert, saying that the talks that took place between the leadership of Baku and Azerbaijan and representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh were difficult. These talks will now continue in Yerevan.

Nazarbayev said: We have voluntarily assumed this duty as mediators. We cannot (?remain indifferent in the face of this bloodshed). We want to (?open the way for negotiations) with our proposals to solve the problem.

Asked if he (?is confident) that the visit of the two presidents will be productive, Levon Ter-Petrosyan replied: I am confident because [words indistinct] (?they are) disinterested and impartial statesmen.

The two visiting presidents held a closed-door session with Levon Ter-Petrosyan after their arrival.

New Democratic Party of Armenia Formed

LD2109120291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] The Democratic Party of Armenia [Demokraticheskaya Partiya Armenii] is a new sociopolitical organization in the republic. Its creation, announced at a founding conference, is the initiative of a large group of delegates to the last Armenian Communist Party Congress, which at the beginning of the month decided to halt the activities of the CPSU.

According to a statement from the action group, the Democratic Party is to provide the basis for the development of a free and democratic Armenia, in which human rights and freedoms will be guaranteed, and all necessary conditions provided for the restoration of national identity and the moulding of a highly civilized society.

Aram Sarkisyan has been elected chairman of the new party. He headed the republican Communist Party before its activities were halted. It is intended to hold the first congress of the Armenian Democratic Party by the end of the year.

Azerbaijan

Legislators Warn Gorbachev on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD2009191791 Hamburg DPA in German 1746 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Azerbaijan's parliamentary leadership warned Soviet head of state Mikhail Gorbachev not to interfere in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict concerning Nagorno-Karabakh. Gorbachev preparing and signing a decree "would constitute interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign, independent state and adversely affect its interests," a statement by the parliamentary leadership distributed by INTERFAX says. Limiting the competences of the republic's highest power organs is "unacceptable". At the same time, the Popular Front of the Republic and the "Independent Azerbaijan" bloc called on Friday for the mobilization and setting up of self-defense units. The latter should proceed to Nagorno-Karabakh and the frontier regions with Armenia. [passage omitted]

Groups Call For Armed Mobilization in Karabakh

OW2009194391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The People's Front of Azerbaijan and the parliamentary bloc "Independent Azerbaijan" have made a statement following the latest events in Nagorno-Karabakh containing the following demands:

-Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet ought to declare an immediate mobilization in the republic;

-self-defence units are to be immediately formed and sent to Nagorno-Karabakh, to the areas bordering on Armenia;

-the people living in the combat zone should be armed;

-legislation should be passed on transferring all the USSR military facilities in Azerbaijan under the republic's jurisdiction;

-with Armenia's aggression escalating, all air, land and water communications with it should be cut off.

Mutalibov Comments on Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Arrival

LD2109103191 Moscow TASS in English 0853 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Aladinskiy]

[Text] Baku September 21 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakhstan leader Nursultan Nazarbayev on Friday arrived in Baku at the invitation of the Azerbaijani leadership.

Both leaders and Azerbaijani officials will visit Nagorno-Karabakh. The Azerbaijani side expressed hope the

Russian and Kazakhstan leaders's visit will help form objective public opinion inside and outside the country about the situation in the disputed enclave and restore long-sought peace in the region.

"We hope we will work out measures to stop the lingering confrontation between the two peoples and bring peace to the suffering Azerbaijani land," Mutalibov said.

"I am sure a renunciation of territorial claims and a constructive dialogue with all concerned sides will help resolve this complex problem," Mutalibov said.

Comments on Baku Talks

LD2109215191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent M. Mamedov] A rally called by the People's Front began this morning outside the residence of the Azerbaijani president. Demands for the dissolution of parliament and the holding of fresh elections rang out again. While welcoming the good-will mission of the Russian and Kazakh leaders, speakers noted that the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh should be resolved by the Azerbaijani people alone. [passage omitted]

The republican presidents refused flatly to make any comment on the preliminary results of the talks, and yet:

[Begin Ayaz Mutalibov recording; Mutalibov identified by caption] Nothing was resolved, but the understanding that can be discerned now in the words of both Boris Nikolayevich and Nursultan Abishevich is a good guarantee for the future. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Demonstrators Protest Outside 'Private' Meeting

LD2109131291 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Anatoliy Aladinskiy and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku September 21 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakhstan leader Nursultan Nazarbayev, who arrived in Baku late on Friday to mediate talks in Nagorno-Karabakh region, said only people's goodwill will resolve the conflict.

Yeltsin told journalists meetings with the Azerbaijani and Armenian leaders, clerics and ordinary people will help make a correct assessment of the situation and solve the problem.

"I am convinced that a constructive dialogue and mutually acceptable decisions are the only way towards peace. Our mission is to lay the groundwork for this," Yeltsin said.

While the three leaders were meeting in private in Baku, demonstrators in front of the former republican party headquarters stressed there should be no interference in Azerbaijan's affairs.

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Talks in Baku Detailed

LD2109211291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1518 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Here is the latest news from Baku. Islam Kuliyev, our correspondent in Azerbaijan, is on the line. Islam, good day, we are listening to you. What news have you got for us?

[Kuliyev] [passage omitted] The talks were, according to the information I have, successful. I would like to ask Tofik Ismailov, academician and USSR people's deputy, a direct participant in the meeting, to speak about the discussions in detail.

[Begin Ismailov recording] Everything that we outlined yesterday was practically implemented today. Well, first, Mutalibov opened the meeting. He greeted the guests and put forward a program of action which is, according to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, rather constructive. Furthermore it is not, I would say, of a one-sided character. It already takes into account the possible variants of the interests of the two sides.

Then Boris Nikolayevich took the floor. He began by saying that he recognizes the sovereignty and the territorial integrity, and proceeds from the documents which have been adopted by this republic in the sphere of independence. He understands that the matter is about the sovereignty of two republics. That is why he notes from the very beginning that they have come on a mission of good will and have the duty not to interfere in the internal affairs of the republics. They will try anyway to work along a definite line which may bring these republics to sit down and talk. It is precisely at this moment that he noted that the program which was proposed by Mutalibov may be taken as a basis. Changes and additions may be made to it or the program itself may be taken as a basis. He himself put forward constructive proposals on the spot: after having talks with Armenia which, naturally, will demand a special approach, priority attention should be paid to those proposals which coincide and have something in common. They should lay the foundations for the commencement of talks. Thus, proposals like these should be used, not those which make things difficult.

Second, he pointed out the issue of gang formations [band- formirovanii]. How should this be approached? First, the status quo which existed in 1988 should be restored and all the anti-constitutional decisions at all levels abolished. This will precisely release, so to speak, many people from the confusion that still exists. Then we will go over to the next stage which will be particularly connected with disarmament, and so on. That is why it has been planned that the first of such meetings may take place in Mineralnyy Vody. President Nazarbayev of

Kazakhstan put forward a very good proposal. He supported the speeches made by one side and the other. At the same time he gave an account of his views on the realization of this program, bearing in mind the treaty—an economic as well as a political one—which has been already concluded between Russia and Kazakhstan. Then the matter was raised of the necessity of speeding up the conclusion of such a treaty between Russia and Azerbaijan, between Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan. Nazarbayev was also worried by the gang formation problem. He was also interested in the question on the declaration of a moratorium on shooting that should be implemented without delay, I would say, so that no blood is spilt. He supported Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's proposal to examine the package presented by Mutalibov. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Yeltsin Reportedly 'in Good Health'

LD2109153691 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 21 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Anatoliy Aladinskiy and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku September 21 TASS—Today is a strenuous day for the Russian, Kazakh and Azerbaijani presidents, who started talks in the morning on the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

According to Tofik Ismailov, USSR people's deputy amd member of the presidium of the Federal Parliament, who attended the meeting of three presidents, the conversation of leaders of the three sovereign republics was held in a constructive atmosphere. Participants in the talks regarded with understanding a proposal, put forward by Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov, on ways of bringing the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh back to normal and measures to restore good neighbourly relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian communities of the autonomous region.

According to other sources close to "the staff of the three presidents, special attention was devoted during the discussion of this complicated problem to the creation of conditions for the beginning of a constructive dialogue between the warring sides.

In the afternoon the Russian and Kazakh leaders met representatives of Azerbaijani intellectuals and the public, who came right from the rally, held outside the building of the former Central Committee, as well as heads of the Azerbaijani Popular Front and the Cooperation Society."

They discussed in detail ways of resolving the problem.

In the evening the three republican leaders are expected to fly to Gyandzha, from where they will go to Nagorno-Karabakh for holding talks with the Azerbaijani and Armenian communities of the autonomous region.

While this information was being transmitted to TASS, numerous telephone calls came from foreign mass media, including ASAHI, Liberty and others. All foreign journalists asked the only question about Boris Yeltsin's health, whether or not it is true that he fell ill and cannot fly to Nagorno-Karabakh. AZERINFORM answered all of them that Boris Yeltsin is alive, in good health and vigorous and active, as usual.

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Depart for Yerevan

OW2109155791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] INTERFAX reports from Baku that Russia's and Kazakhstan's presidents—Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev have flown out to Yerevan. On Sunday [22 September], having talked with the Armenian leadership, they will go to Mineralnyye-Vody, northern Caucasus, in the Russian Federation. A meeting will be held there with the mediation of Russia and Kazakhstan between the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan, and spokesmen of the Armenian community of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Azerbaijan's President Ayaz Mutalibov answered "may be" to the journalists' question if he is going.

There is unofficial information that the trip of Yeltsin and Nazarbayev to Nagorno-Karabakh was cancelled due to security problems during their proposed stay in Stepanakert.

Further on Departure

LD2109173591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Late yesterday evening Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakhstan Soviet Socialist Republic, arrived in Baku.

[Correspondent M. Mamedov] The arrival in Azerbaijan of the leaders of two major sovereign republics is connected with their peacemaking mission to settle the interethnic conflict in the region. Meeting the high-ranking visitors at the aircraft steps was Ayaz Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan, who considers that their stay in the republic will make it possible to suspend the dangerous development of events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. At an improvised news conference, Russian President Boris Yeltsin said, inter alia:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Of course, the publication, perhaps the conclusion of some kind of agreement between the two republics. It seems to me that this is better than any kind of decree—relations, a protocol of the two republics. If they agree, by all means, we will be beside them, as it were, so as not to interfere in the sovereignty of the republics, but at the same time, we call

for charitable agreement—this is the main mission of goodwill, the mission of peace. [end recording]

[Mamedov] This morning, talks took place between the three leaders of sovereign republics. A package of proposals was discussed designed to untie the tight Karabakh knot. Also today, the Kazakhstan and Russian presidents and deputies of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet left for Stepanakert. [Video shows Nazarbayev, Yeltsin, and entourage facing Ayaz Mutalibov and entourage across conference table]

'Fierce Fighting' Continues in Geranboyskiy Rayon

LD2109163391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] News agencies report that in Azerbaijan's Geranboyskiy rayon, fierce fighting is continuing near the villages of Adan, Shafak and Bashkyshlak. The villages have been severely damaged. The strategic aim of the Armenian military units is to capture Chaykend, after which the road to Gyandzha will be open to them. The Azerbaijanis claim that working among the Armenian militants are foreign instructors—French-speaking Negroes, and whites. According to more precise data released by the Azerbaijani Popular Front, from the Azerbaijani side the Armenian militants are being opposed by 50 Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] members, supported by 400 militia members of the Geranboy State Internal Affairs Directorate. They buy ammunition from Soviet Army soldiers. The price of one assault-rifle round is two rubles. In Tuk village, in Gadrut rayon of Nagorno-Karabak Autonomous Oblast, a military guard post was shelled by Armenian armed units. Three servicemen were killed. In the morning of 20 September, Shaada village, as well as the localities of Shatabad and Badamuy of Shakhbuz rayon were fired on. A television mast near Batabad was blown up, as a result of which television broadcasts in Nakhichevan were halted. In Badevskiy rayon, Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the villages of Yukhary, Buzguf and Keremyachetakh were shelled.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Reportage on Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Peace Talks

Security Forces To Protect Yeltsin

LD2009124991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0847 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, 20 Sep (TASS)—The security services team of President Yeltsin and President Nazarbayev, who are due to visit Nagorno-Karabakh shortly, has arrived in Stepanakert. Group leader Colonel Valeriy Velichko, representative of the security office of President Yeltsin's staff, told a TASS correspondent that "the group has already developed a mutual understanding with the local law enforcement organs and the command of the region under state of emergency."

He expressed hope that the visit would proceed normally from a security point of view. When asked whether the combat situation reigning here was taken into account, Valeriy Velichko replied that "the team has been selected specifically for combat situations. Many have been through the Afghanistan school."

In Nagorno-Karabakh, disquiet has been prompted by yesterday's announcement on the Russian television program "Vesti" about the alleged attempt on Boris Yeltsin's life, which was allegedly being prepared. However, observers point out that it is difficult to imagine the two president serving as peacemakers being threatened even in a combat situation.

The command of the state of emergency region announced that members of the Armed Forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with the militia, will increase the public order security arrangements in the places visited by the high-ranking guests. Members of the local militia are going to be involved in maintaining public order in Stepanakert.

Today the executive committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet of People's Deputies has published an appeal in the local media calling on the population to show restraint, to resist provocations, and to create favorable conditions to enable Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev to carry out their work successfully.

TASS Commentator on Mission

LD2109000891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS commentator Anatoliy Aladinskiy]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 20 Sep (TASS)—Observers are calling the trip by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev to Nagorno-Karabakh, called today's hot spot, a peacemaking mission.

Clearly, there are few people in our country today, primarily in Azerbaijan or Armenia, who do not place great hope on this trip for restoring peace in this kray or for a sensible political unravelling of this "Gordean knot" which has tied itself around Nagorno-Karabakh problems. These important steps still lie ahead. Everything depends upon the first moves of the two sides as they move toward dialogue. How do they look today?

It is not the continued escalation of tension around the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh, but a constructive dialogue with all sides involved and the abandonment of territorial claims that would be capable of halting the dangerous development of events and which could put an end to the "undeclared war" in Azerbaijan. Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov is firmly convinced of this. He

welcomes the forthcoming visit by Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, who are coming as intermediaries to settle the interethnic conflict.

The Azerbaijani president emphasized to a TASS correspondent that they have been invited by the republic's leadership. An agreement on this, he stated, was reached in Moscow while the USSR State Council was at work.

According to A. Mutalibov, this step by leaders of the largest sovereign states in the federative community has been greeted positively in the republic. "We hope," he noted, "that we will manage to work out measures together which will allow us to halt the long drawn out conflict between the two peoples and to bring peace to the long-suffering land of this ancient kray."

Those close to the Kazakhstan president told a TASS correspondent that together with Nazarbayev, representatives of the republic's Supreme Soviet and USSR people's deputies who intend to help set up the necessary base for constructive dialogue between the two sides in the conflict are flying to Baku and then to Nagorno-Karabakh. They see their number one task as getting to know the situation, then speeding up the possibility of starting talks. Today they all share one opinion—political and ethnic conflict, and the bloodshed needs to be stopped as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

The TASS correspondent reports that the Russian and Kazakhstan national flags can already be seen in Nagorno-Karabakh. The important guests are awaited impatiently here by those who have suffered and have sent appeals and telegrams throughout the years of the conflict.

Hopes High for Peace Mission

LD2109002391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1448 GMT 20 Sep 91

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] [Announcer] We now have Baku on the line and our correspondents, Islam Kuliyev and Vladimir Perfiliyev. As I understand it, they will be talking about the forthcoming trip to Nagorno-Karabakh by Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, on a peacemaking mission. I am listening to you:

[Kuliyev] Superficially, Baku and the republic are calm. The latest working week is drawing to a close. Industry, construction, and transportation enterprises are operating. As always, on the eve of the days off, our eastern bazaars are doing a brisk tradle. In a word, superficially life appears calm. However, there are things I would like to tell you about in greater dietail. After some lull, the rails war has flared up again. After the latest series of attacks on trains bound from Azerbaijan to the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, across the 40 km section of Armenian territory, Azerbaijani railwaymen demanded guarantees for their security. Appeals to Armenia's law enforcement bodies have yielded nothing, and today thousands of cars with national economy freight, including with food and fuel, are standing on both sides of the border. By the way, train traffic from Iran has stopped. This inflicts damage not only on Azerbaijan but also on the entire country. Of course, freight is also not going to Armenia, which prompts the neighboring republic to notify again the entire world about the latest blockade and about the fact that on winter's eve the republic remains without fuel, energy, food, etc. In this regard, I will remark that, in the the first place, the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, which the selfsame 40 km section of the railway passing through Megri rayon of Armenia links with Azerbaijan, has found itself blocked already for the umpteenth time. The situation in the autonomous republic is very complicated. There is not enough fuel for gathering the harvest. A food shortage is being experienced. As Comrade Rustamov, deputy head of the Azerbaijani railway, told me, talks between representatives of the USSR Railways Ministry in Nakhichevan and Armenia are now under way to restore traffic on the railway.

[Perfiliyev] The situation is indeed difficult. For four years now in the republic there has been no calm; for four years blood has been flowing in Nagorno-Karabakh, and perhaps it is precisely for this reason that both the interest in and the hope pinned on the forthcoming visit to Baku on a peacemaking mission by the presidents of Russia and Kazahstan, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, are so great. There are diverse opinions. There is caution. There is hope. We asked Academician Eldar Salayev, president of the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijani Republic, a number of questions in an attempt to sum up these events:

[Begin recording] [Salayev] It is very gratifying that at last democratic laws are in force in our country and that Russia and Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin serve as an example of democratic principles in our republic. I think that this visit, precisely a peacemaking visit, can yield its results.

[Perfiliyev] A formula now exists—one that is virtually on everyone's lips—to the effect that it is necessary to disunite in order to unite. From the point of science, what do you think? Is it possible for science to exist in a separate republic?

[Salayev] I believe that this is something terrible. We are very alarmed at what has happened in the USSR Academy of Sciences, that the general meeting adopted a unanimous decision—as was written in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA yesterday—to rename itself the Russian Academy of Sciences. If it is renamed only as the Russian Academy of Sciences, justice that this Academy arose as the Russian Academy—initially the Petersburg Academy and then as the Russian Academy—will be restored. However, if the coordinating functions which were implemented by the Academy of Sciences are infringed, our science—Soviet science; we can also say the Union science—will suffer heavily.

[Perfilyev] What will be the results of this trip by the presidents to your republic?

[Salayev] How can I put it? We expect that an end will come to this four years of bloodshed. [end recording]

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev View Goals

LD2109112491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0615 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpts] Talks between the presidents of Azerbaijan, Russia and Kazakhstan—Boris Yeltsin, Ayaz Mutalibov, and Nursultan Nazarbayev—are beginning at this moment.

The visit to Azerbaijan and Armenia by Boris Nikolayevich and Nursultan Abishevich is being called a goodwill mission in the republic. It is too early yet to say what sort of meeting this will be. As for what hopes are being vested in it, we enquired and attempted to find out about them late yesterday evening at Bina Airport, where the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan were met. [passage omitted]

Here is what Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov had to say: "We have no special conditions. We hope for the disarmament and withdrawal of terrorist groupings and, on that basis, a peaceful settlement of the problems within the framework of the oblast itself between the two communities. Let them meet among themselves and talk, doing everything as one should. We have all lived for several decades. The restoration of the status quo that existed until the events that began in 1988 is what we week."

The airplane on which Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev arrived landed, and Nazarbayev said: "Boris Nikolayevich and I expressed this initiative together on 17 September, as you remember, because we are all disturbed by what is going on here. We are mediators—nothing more nothing less."

Asked about what he means by mediators, Nazarbayev said: "Mediators are people who stand in the middle between parties in a conflict. Both the republics are sovereign states. They can settle this conflict only between themselves. I believe our task is to try, together with them, to work out a way of getting everybody around the negotiating table."

We spoke to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. As he came down the gangway from the airplane. He said: "As they say, we will be alongside, not interfering in the republics' sovereignty. You understand that Russian boys who have come here from Russia are suffering [word indistinct]. They came to the army or were sent here. I know how many of them have perished here already. As president of Russia, I am directly interested in there being no continuation of this state of affairs, this war. I am hoping, for the start of the negotiating process."

So, the goodwill mission has begun. In a few minutes, the airplane carrying the three presidents will go to Stepanakert.

'Protracted' Talks Expected

LD2109115891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] The presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan have arrived in Azerbaijan's capital. Addressing journalists, Boris Yeltsin noted: The most important thing is that the process of negotiations has started. It goes without saying, he said further, I realize that this process will not go smoothly and will be protracted. Russia's President's reported that USSR Defence Minister Shaposhnikov will arrive in Azerbaijan on Saturday to take part in the negotiations. To the same end, USSR Internal Affairs Minister Barannikov has been in the republic since 19th September. According to Yeltsin, the decision to withdraw troops from the Armenian-Azerbaijani border depends only on the good will of these republics. If the troops are unnecessary, Russia's President said, we are prepared to withdraw them even in the course of one week. At an improvised briefing for correspondents in the salon of ther presidential aircraft, Kazakhstan's President Nazarbayev stressed that he saw as his and Boris Yeltsin's main task in providing a negotiating table for the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan. To the question "Are you pinning any hopes with your mediatory mission?" Nazarbayev replied: It would be naive to expect any quick results from this trip, after all a reconciliation process is complicated and lengthy and one must grasp this reality. And a mediator is a person who stands in the middle, helping the confronting sides to meet and come to an agreeement. Meanwhile, Azerbaijan's President Ayaz Mutalibov told journalists that his republic has no territorial claims at all against neighboring Armenia and that he advocates the restoration of the situation in the NKAO which existed prior to 1988. Mutalibov also said that he would under no circumstances agree to hand over Nagorno-Karabakh to the jurisdiction of Armenia, the government of the Union or any other state body. In a conversation with a TASS correspondent, Azerbaijan's President stressed: we hope that we will succeed in jointly drawing measures which will make it possible to halt the long drawn-out confrontation between the two peoples and to bring peace to Azerbaijani soil which has become wretched with sorrow. Ayaz Mutalibov is convinced that a renunciation of territorial claims and a constructive dialogue with all parties concerned will help resolve this complicated problem. Today the presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan started negotiations in Baku on ways of restoring peace in Nagorno-Karabakh. According to a preliminary accord, in the second half of the day Yeltsin, Nazarbayev and Mutalibov are to leave for NKAO.

Burbulis on Security Issues

OW2109183291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Federation's Secretary of State Gennadiy Burbulis has told several thousand Stepanakert

people today, Saturday, at a rally in front of the regional council that Russia's President Boris Teltsin will arrive in Nagorno-Karabakh Sunday morning.

G. Burbulis and the Kazakh President's aide explained the absence of Yeltsin and Nazarbayev by technical reasons and security considerations. They maintained the two Presidents failed to arrive due to short daylight hours in the area since they were unwilling to spend the night in Nagorno-Karabakh.

At about 5 p.m. local time most demonstrators dispersed at the call of the region's leaders, but - as reported by the INTERFAX correspondent - two or three thousand stayed in the square for the night.

Informed sources in the regional council have told INTERFAX that now there are two possible variants of Yeltsin's and Nazarbayev's arrival in Stepanakert. The first: the two Presidents fly to Yerevan and proceed from there for Stepanakert at 8 o'clock, Sunday. Second: they spend the night in Ghandia (former Kirovobad) and then go to the administrative centre of Nagorno-Karabakh.

There is still another version of the mediating mission of Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, as already reported by INTERFAX from Baku: a meeting to be held in Mineralnyye-Vody, Northern Caucasus, RSFSR, chaired by the Presidents, between the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan and spokesmen of the Armenian community of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Saturday night the Presidents of Russian and Kazakhstan are to arrive in Yerevan.

TASS Reports on Talks

LD2209120191 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS special correspondents Anatoliy Aladinskiy, Vadim Byrkin, and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Stepanakert September 22 TASS—The presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan—Boris Yeltsin, Nursultan Nazarbayev, and Ayaz Mutalibov - arrived from Gandzha, Azerbaijan, to Stepanakert, the centre of Nagorno-Karabakh, this morning.

People that thronged Shaumyan Square in downtown Stepanakert carried homemade banners proclaiming "Boris, you are the hope of Karabakh." Now and then those present chanted: "Russia, Russia!"

"We have come here with the only desire to do everything to end the bloodshed so that people could at last live and work calmly. It is time to tell those who want a continuation of the conflict: Enough of that!" Yeltsin said during his meetings with people in the square.

Upon having visited the Nagorno-Karabkh organising committee building, which previously housed the regional committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, the guests headed for the building of the executive committee of the regional council of people's deputies for talks which involved the presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan, the leaders of Nagorno-Karabakh and representatives of the Armenian community.

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Address Rally

LD2209144291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1233 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Anatoliy Aladinskiy, Vadim Byrkin, and Viktor Shulman]

[Excerpt] Stepanakert, 22 Sep (TASS)—[passage omitted] The Russian and Kazakh presidents held talks with the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] leadership and USSR people's deputies representing the NKAO for over two and one-half hours. They then met with representatives of the Armenian public in the kray and journalists. At the conclusion of their visit the two presidents spoke at a rally in Stepanakert which was attended by thousands of people. They addressed NKAO inhabitants with words of sympathy regarding innocent victims of the interethnic conflict and expressed hope that peace will soon be established on this land. As one NKAO leader noted at the rally, those in the Stepanakert square applauded for the first time in the last four years. Hope emerged.

The start of negotiations on "neutral territory" is expected at 1700 Moscow time. The talks will take place in Mineralnyye Vody, northern Caucasus. Apart from the highest leadership of Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, an NKAO delegation of four Armenians and two Azerbaijanies will take part in the negotiations. Observers noted that for the first time NKAO will act as an independent unit at the negotiations. [passage omitted]

Hope Emerges From Discussions

LD2209153291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev held talks with the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast leadership behind closed doors. The two presidents are expected to arrive in Yerevan tonight. Meanwhile, as it became known to Valeriy Kuts, our Stavropol correspondent, Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev are expected to arrive in Mineralnyye Vody between 1700 and 1800. The confirmation of this is the urgent departure from Stavropol of (Travov), chairman of the kray executive committee, and one of the higher ranking officers of the KGB directorate, to organize the work for settling the interethnic strife in the Caucasus.

By all accounts the mission of good will carried out by Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev gives hope that they will make some headway in resolving this inveterate conflict. It is clear from the information received by a

RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent from the presidents' milieu that the first round of negotiations that took place in Baku gives hope that they will make a start on finding the way out of this dead end.

According to information from USSR People's Deputy Abasov, it is clear that in the course of negotiations Boris Yeltsin recognized the principle of inviolability of Azerbaijan's borders. Both presidents emphasized that their mission of good will does not imply intervention in the internal affairs of the sovereign state of Azerbaijan. The fact that Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov presented his plan for settling the conflict was the most significant element of the two presidents' stay in Baku. It consists of 25 points. It is expected that in the course of this mediation mission by Yeltsin and Nazarbayev a variant for reconciliation set out by the Armenian side will be studied.

The two plans are bound to have similar points. According to a representative of the Russian president, they can form the basis for the beginning of negotiations.

Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev visited Giandzha, formerly Kirovabad, on 21 Sepremeber. It is one of the largest cities in Azerbaijan. That was yet another place visited by the presidents during their goodwill mission.

Yeltsin Comments on Talks

LD2209201991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] We have already reported that talks connected with the peace mission of Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayaev on a settlement to the Karabakh conflict were held in Yerevan today. We have just received a report from the Armenian capital; unfortunately with some technical faults. Here it is:

[Correspondent V. Nazaryan; caption] It turned out that two very important events coincided in Yerevan today—the first being that the results of yesterday's nationwide Armenian plebiscite became known. According to the Central Commission for the Referendum, over 95 percent of the adult population of the republic took part in the ballot. Over 99 percent of them said yes to independence.

The first eminent visitors to the now independent Republic of Armenia today were the two presidents, Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, currently carrying out an important mediatory mission with the object of a settlement to the Karabakh conflict, which has been continuing for over three years.

The first statement at Yerevan's Zvartnots Airport following his visit to Stepanakert, the center of Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Video shows Ter-Petrosyan speaking to reporters] [Ter-Petrosyan] The subject of the talks is the restoration of constitutional order in Nagorno-Karabakh. In other words, the restoration of the legitimate authorities in Nagorno-Karabakh. After that the talks will begin.

[Nazaryan] And they have begun. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin gave a detailed briefing about the progress of his meetings and conversations with President Nazarbayev in Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh, and listened to the Armenian leadership's position on a settlement to the bleeding Karabakh wounds. The talks were then continued, but this time tete-a-tete—Yeltsin-Nazarbayev-Ter- Petrosyan.

[Video shows Yeltsin, with Ter-Petrosyan and Nazarbayev at his side, speaking outside building surrounded by a number of people] [Yeltsin] We discussed virtually the same complex of questions which were discussed yesterday and today in Azerbaijan and Stepanakert—that is, in Baku and Stepanakert—but with certain nuances. We came to the conclusion that on a number of questions—a number—the positions, with our good will and at our, so to speak, request, and, generally speaking, this is the will of the peoples, certain positions coincide.

[Nazaryan] The talks will be continued tomorrow, but this time on Russian territory—at Mineralnyye Vody—only they will not be quadripartite as announced earlier, but five-sided. The fifth independent participant from Azerbaijan will be a delegation from Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Video shows Yeltsin speaking to a crowd of people]

[Yeltsin] We are doing this with a pure heart, voluntarily, nobody is forcing us to do so. So, please help us! [applause, cheers]

[Nazarbayev, to crowd] Thank you.

PRAVDA Views Yeltsin Mission

PM2209203591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 91 Single Edition pp 1, 6

[Report by S. Oganyan: "Mission To Karabakh"]

[Text] When these lines reach the reader B. Yeltsin's and N. Nazarbayev's mission in Karabakh will have come to an end. The mission is a brief one, moreover its finale will take place on the other side of the Caucasus, in Mineralnyye Vody [Mineral Waters].

Would Karabakh benefit from taking the waters? Scarcely. But the very involvement of the leaders of the two biggest republics in the destiny of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and their attempt to resolve the hemorrhaging problem, which has dragged on for more than three years, deserves encouragement. Particularly as the mission to Karabakh is virtually their first serious act as leaders of sovereign states. It is a pity this serious step became possible only after the effective breakup of the USSR.

Perhaps it was only as a result of the breakup?

Both leaders, while declaring their dedication to a peaceful resolution of the conflict and a desire to end the bloodshed, at the same time differ somewhat in their approaches to the Karabakh problem. The day before he flew to Baku B. Yeltsin voiced concern that RSFSR citizens in military uniforms were involved in the confrontation between the two peoples in the Transcaucasus.

As is known, the active involvement of subunits of the Soviet Army and internal troops in operations to "check identity card procedures" in Armenian villages in the NKAO dramatically exacerbated the situation in April. In effect, the Army's peacemaking mission was replaced by combat actions for one of the sides.

As for N. Nazarbayev's position, among the mission priorities he named dedication to the restoration of the sovereignty of the territory of Azerbaijan and the inviolability of its borders. This might have been seen as a case of warning off the Armenian side, were it not for a serious fact that is a source of anxiety for N. Nazarbayev himself. One has in mind the northern territories of Kazakhstan where there is a growing movement for Cossack revival. There was a clash between Cossacks and Kazakhs in Uralsk on 15 September. The latter were angry that the Cossacks had celebrated the 400th anniversary of their service to the Russian state under the Russian flag, while ignoring the fact that the celebration was taking place on the territory of Kazkahstan. N. Nazarbayev was worried and he acted vigorously, calling, in a message to B. Yeltsin, the Cossack's actions provocative.

Now both of them—B. Yeltsin and N. Nazarbayev—have been called provocateurs at a rally attended by thousands of people in Baku immediately after a meeting between the leaders of the Azerbaijan People's Front and the presidents of Russian and Kazakhstan. They were accused of wanting to partition Azerbaijan, give Karabakh to Armenia, and then occupy Azerbaijan...

The mission to Karabakh continues.

Center 'Doing Nothing'

LD2209204891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The main event of today is a goodwill mission by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and Kazakh presidents in the republics of the Transcaucasus. According to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, his stay, as well as the stay of Nursultan Nazarbayev, in Stepanakert was turbulent. Our first report from that area:

[Correspondent M. Mamedov] The meeting between Boris Yeltsin, Nursultan Nazarbayev, and representatives of the Armenian community of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] was held behind closed doors. At the same time a stormy meeting was under way outside the oblast executive committee building. Participants demanded that the status of sovereign republic be immediately granted to this autonomous oblast. The gathering listened attentively to an appeal by President Yeltsin, which was transmitted by loudspeakers in the square.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] It is the fourth year running that we see the center doing nothing. It made a mistake at the very beginning, in 1988, a grave mistake, followed by attempts to tackle interethnic problems by force. This has never ever achieved positive results. [end recording]

[Mamedov] Passions continued to boil over, especially after a speech by (Manucharov) people's deputy of Armenia, who called to make no compromises at all. Yilmaz Polland, a Turkish journalist, was severely beaten. (Nadezhda Ismailova), a commentator of the Azerbaijani television, was also injured. Elkhan Aliyev, an Azerbaijani film worker, was taken hostage. These incidents were reported to leaders of the sovereign republics who, unfortunately, had no time for a meeting with representatives of the Azerbaijani community of this region. The search for the kidnapped journalist continues. Today's events in Stepanakert can complicate the construction of the basis which is necessary for a constructive dialogue to take place, and for a fragile peace to set in this explosive region.

Yeltsin Views Problem, Inaction

LD2209211891 Moscow TASS in English 2102 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert September 22 TASS—"Only peace talks, solutions, discussions and compromises can stop the war," Russian President Boris Yeltsin told public representatives in Stepanakert on Sunday, which he and Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev visited on a goodwill mission.

Yeltsin called the "Karabakh knot" a wound of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples, a wound of the whole country, since people of various nationalities die there, including from Russia and Kazakhstan.

Speaking about their mission, the Russian leader said he and Nazarbayev were driven by their conscience and responsibility.

"Problems, including ethnic, abound in Russia, but I believe that when blood flows and victims are counted not in dozens but in hundreds, no one can remain indifferent," Yeltsin said.

"This is the fourth year since the centre, including Gorbachev, has been making no moves after it made a gross mistake in 1988. Moreover, attempts to solve inter-ethnic problems by force have never been successful. We realise we use our political authority. We realise the complexity of the problem and know it cannot

be solved at one stroke. This is a process and it should go slowly. It may take much time. It should be a peaceful process a process of settlements and negotiations between various sides. Only this process will resolve the conflict. We understand this and we've gone on this mission not on the order from the country's president or the state council, but in respond to the call of our conscience," yeltsin said.

After a two-hour talk with the regional leadership and a brief meeting with public representatives, the Russian and Kazakhstan leaders addressed residents of the disputed enclave in the central square in Stepanakert.

Nazarbayev stressed that after the victory of democratic forces, the country has embarked on a path of economic reforms and democratisation of society. "If this process will be followed by a flame of war, fratricidal and inter-ethnic clashes, we will move no further along the path," Nazarbayev said.

Yeltsin Urges Censorship of Situation

LD2209220591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Only the path of peaceful negotiations, settlement, discussions and the reaching of compromises of some kind can lead to the ending of the war, Russian President Boris Yeltsin said at a meeting with representatives of the public of Nagorno-Karabakh. It took place in Stepanakert today within the framework of the peace mission by the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan for a settlement of the conflict.

Speaking about the role of the mass media in reporting the conflict, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president proposed that censorship should be set up in Moscow to filter reports on and around the interethnic confrontation in Karabakh, along the lines of that set up by the Americans during the war in the Persian Gulf.

After a two-hour talk with the leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh and a short meeting with representatives of the public, the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan addressed tens of thousands of Karabakh people assembled in the central square of Stepanakert.

The same day, Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev met Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Chairman of Armenia's Supreme Soviet, in Yerevan. The meeting took place behind closed doors. There was then a conversation with journalists near the Armenian parliament building. The RSFSR President announced that it was expected that a five- or six-point protocol would be signed in Zheleznovodsk, where the leaders of Russia, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno- Karabakh meet tomorrow. The most important thing for us is to set the start to the talks process, the president of Kazakhstan stressed.

It was also reported that the state of Yeltsin's health is good.